P. 326

# REVISTA DE ETNOGRAFIE ŞI FOLCLOR

# JOURNAL OF ETHNOGRAPHY AND FOLKLORE

SERIE NOUĂ / NEW SERIES

2/2007

EDITURA ACADEMIEI ROMÂNE

Inv. 11569

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

# Revista de Etnografie şi Folclor

# Journal of Ethnography and Folklore

Serie nouă / New Series

1/2007

Comitetul de redacţie / Editorial Board

Director

Prof. dr. MARIUS PORUMB, corresponding member of the Romanian Academy

Redactor-şef / Editor-in-chief

Prof. dr. SABINA ISPAS, corresponding member of the Romanian Academy

Redactor responsabil / Editor-in-charge

dr. MARIN MARIAN-BĂLAŞA

Membri / Members

acad. MIHNEA GHEORGHIU, prof. dr. ION GHINOIU, prof. dr. NICOLAE CONSTANTINESCU, prof. dr. ION CUCEU, prof. dr. ION H. CIUBOTARIU, prof. dr. OTILIA HEDEŞAN, dr. IORDAN DATCU, dr. IONEL OPRIŞAN, prof. dr. ILIE MOISE, prof. dr. NICOLAE PANEA, dr. MARIAN LUPAŞCU

Adresa / Address

str. Take Ionescu nr. 25
Bucureşti 010353
România

Academia Română, Secţia de Arte, Arhitectură şi Audiovizual
Romanian Academy, Section of Arts, Architecture, and Audio-Visual

© 2008, EDITURA ACADEMIEI ROMÂNE

P. 326

REVISTA DE ETNOGRAFIE ŞI FOLCLOR
JOURNAL OF ETHNOGRAPHY AND FOLKLORE

New Series 2 2007

## CONTENTS

**The Old Turned Anew**
**(Note from the Editorial Board)** ..... 179

ACADEMIC ESSAYS

LARRY FRANCIS HILARIAN
**The Symbolic Importance of Melayu Music in the Emerging State of Johor in Peninsula Malaysia** ..... 181

KAI ÅBERG
**Popular Musics of the Finnish Roma** ..... 197

MARIN MARIAN-BĂLAŞA
**The Metaphysics of the Folk Song: Actualization of Virtual Forms, Disappearance of Potentialities, and Invasion of Novelties** ..... 209

OTILIA HEDEŞAN
**Giovedì santo e i fuochi dei morti** ..... 217

ALEXANDRU POPESCU
**Rumäniesche Eßkultur zwischen Tradition und Wandel** ..... 237

ILIE MOISE
**Begriffe der rumänischen Identitätsfindung: das kosmische Christentum** ..... 247

NICOLAE PANEA
**L'ordure d'or** ..... 259

SABINA ISPAS
**The Ballads of the Horse Thieves** ..... 265

MARIANA VIDA
**Sources ethnographiques et image artistique dans la culture visuelle roumaine du XIXe siècle** ..... 273

BOOK REVIEWS

NICOLAE CONSTANTINESCU
Adolf Schullerus, *Tipologia basmelor româneşti şi a variantelor lor. Conform sistemului tipologiei basmului întocmit de Antti Aarne*. Traducere din limba germană de Magda Petculescu. Ediţie îngrijită şi prefaţă de I. Oprişan [*The Typology of Romanian Fairy Tales and their variants. According to Antti Aarne Folktale Typology System.* Translation from German by Magda Petculescu. Edition and preface by I. Oprişan,], Bucureşti, Editura Saeculum I. O., 2006 ..... 297

REF/JEF, *2*, p. 175–309, Bucureşti, 2007

Inv. 11569

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

MARIA BOZAN
Academia Română [Académie Roumaine], Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane Sibiu [Institut de Recherches Sociales et Humaines], Centrul Judeţean pentru Conservarea şi Promovarea Culturii Tradiţionale Sibiu [Centre Départemental de Sibiu pour la Conservation et la Promotion de la Culture Traditionnelle], *Studii şi comunicări de etnologie*, tomul XX, 2006, serie nouă [Études et communications d'ethnologie, tome XXe, 2006, nouvelle série], Sibiu, Editura Imago ..... 300

MARIN MARIAN-BĂLAŞA
Ceribašić, Naila and Haskell, Erica (eds.), *Shared Musics and Minority Identities: Papers from the Third Meeting of the "Music and Minorities" Study Group of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM), Roč, Croatia, 2004*. Zagreb, Roč, 2006 ..... 303

**List of Contributors** ..... 307

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

REVISTA DE ETNOGRAFIE ŞI FOLCLOR
JOURNAL OF ETHNOGRAPHY AND FOLKLORE

Serie nouă 2 2007

## SUMAR

**[Vechiul, înnoit. O menţiune din partea Comitetului Editorial]** ..... 179

STUDII

LARRY FRANCIS HILARIAN
**[Importanţa simbolică a muzicii melayu în tânărul stat Johor (Peninsula Malayesiei)]** ... 181

KAI ÅBERG
**[Muzicile populare ale romilor finlandezi]** ..... 197

MARIN MARIAN-BĂLAŞA
**[O metafizică a cântecului folcloric: actualizarea formelor virtuale, dispariţia potenţialităţilor şi invazia noutăţilor]** ..... 209

OTILIA HEDEŞAN
**[Joia Mare şi focurile morţilor]** ..... 217

ALEXANDRU POPESCU
**[Obiceiuri alimentare româneşti între tradiţie şi transformare]** ..... 237

ILIE MOISE
**[Concepte ale identităţii româneşti: creştinismul cosmic]** ..... 247

NICOLAE PANEA
**[Gunoiul de aur]** ..... 259

SABINA ISPAS
**[Baladele hoţilor de cai]** ..... 265

MARIANA VIDA
**[Izvoare etnografice şi imagine artistică în cultura vizuală românească din secolul XIX]** ..... 273

RECENZII

NICOLAE CONSTANTINESCU
Adolf Schullerus, *Tipologia basmelor româneşti şi a variantelor lor. Conform sistemului tipologiei basmului întocmit de Antti Aarne*. Traducere din limba germană de Magda Petculescu. Ediţie îngrijită şi prefaţă de I. Oprişan, Bucureşti, Editura Saeculum I. O., 2006 ..... 297



https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

MARIA BOZAN

Academia Română, Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane Sibiu, Centrul Judeţean pentru Conservarea şi Promovarea Culturii Tradiţionale Sibiu, *Studii şi comunicări de etnologie*, tomul XX, 2006, serie nouă, Sibiu, Editura Imago ..... 300

MARIN MARIAN-BĂLAŞA

Ceribašić, Naila and Haskell, Erica (eds.), *Shared Musics and Minority Identities: Papers from the Third Meeting of the "Music and Minorities" Study Group of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM), Roč, Croatia, 2004*. Zagreb, Roč, 2006 ..... 303

**[Lista autorilor]** ..... 307

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

# THE OLD TURNED ANEW
## (Note from the Editorial Board)

The old "Revista de etnografie şi folclor" has recently celebrated its 50 anniversary. We call it "Revista de etnografie şi folclor" because this was its long-lasting name, a name due to which the journal became profoundly embedded into people's mind.

In fact, at the beginning, it was only "Revista de folclor". In the 1950s, "folklore" was the keyword or paramount concept signifying the totality of disciplines that will make what we conceive nowadays as... ethnologies. And it also was the fact that the "Institutul de Folclor" (Folklore Institute), founded in 1949, was conceived as the academic venue specialized in the research of folk music, folk dance, and folk literature. Only that the Institute grew up, over the decades incorporating other sections, departments, disciplines, thus expanding its area of expertise, tasks, and interest. In 1964, taking over an entire department for ethnography from the Institute for the History of Arts, it was named "Institutul de etnografie şi folclor". Hence, our periodical became, like the Institute, a *Journal of Ethnography and Folklore*.

Later on, the patron of our journal changed. The Institute expanded again, becoming "Institutul de Cercetări Etnologice şi Dialectologice" [Institute of Ethnological and Dialectological Research], whereas the "Revista..." remained the same. It was to the Institute to come under the former patronage and umbrella that served as the continuity platform for the journal – the Romanian Academy. And the journal survived, preserving its name, also after the Institute (of Ethnography and Folklore), added to its title the name of its spiritual patron, Constantin Brăiloiu (1991).

Over these five decades life span "Revista de etnografie şi folclor" has fluctuated numerically. It had two issues per year, then twelve, six or four. Now we will have two yearly issues, compensating its page volume through intellectual quality and modernity.

After a sad interruption during the most recent years, the Romanian Academy decided to revive the journal, as well as to give it a new impetus. The present volume

REF/JEF, 2, p. 179–180, Bucureşti, 2007
https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

is the second output of this initiative, which aims at turning "Revista de etnografie şi folclor" into an internationally available, compatible, and competitive resource.

From a nation-wide platform for supporting, communicating, illustrating and promoting the academic research in Romania, from now on this journal widely opens to the international academia. Any research in traditional cultures or in oral forms of cultural expression can find space here, henceforth inviting all colleagues to share with us their intellectual best, their findings and expertise, by submitting their original, most solid papers and academic essays.

"Revista de etnografie şi folclor" is a peer-reviewed journal, obeying and recommending all the high standards reached by the social, cultural, and anthropological disciplines performed today.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

# THE SYMBOLIC IMPORTANCE OF MELAYU MUSIC IN THE EMERGING STATE OF JOHOR IN PENINSULA MALAYSIA

LARRY FRANCIS HILARIAN

In Malaysia, music plays an important part in many aspects of Malay society and traditional music continues to function in the normal everyday life of most people. In this paper I will discuss the importance of the State of Johor (in Peninsula Malaysia) since the early 1990's. In recent times, Johor, which is in the southern most part of the Malay Peninsula, has been asserting its cultural and economic importance as the cultural centre of the Malay World (*alam Melayu*). It can be argued that without any doubt, the State of Johor surpasses many of the *Melayu* regions in terms of tradition, culture and musical practices. Johor State has now become the torch bearer of "*Melayu* culture" and it is respected as being the centre of the Malay World (*alam Melayu*).[1]

The particular focus of interest in this paper will be the emergence of Johor State as the new centre of *Melayu* culture and the significance of musical instruments such as the *gambus* lute and its two most important musical genres, *zapin* and *ghazal*. The other two less significant musical practices that are also associated with Johor musical heritage are the *hamdolok* (dance drama theatre) and the *kuda kepang* hobby horse ritual dance.[2] This paper also addresses a number of other related cultural issues. It explores the role of *gambus* music in social contexts such as weddings and festivals.

I will also explore the continuity of the traditional music and dance through tourism and school education programmes, which are being perpetuated for the

[1] The words "Melayu" or "Malay" can be used interchangeably. However, in this research, I will use the term "Melayu" to refer to only Muslim/Malays, not including Aboriginal Orang Asli or other non-Muslim groups of Malay ethnicity. The Melayu people identify with each other both socially and culturally by their religion (*ugama*), customary rites (*adat*), language (*bahasa*) and in their music (*muzik*).

[2] This will not be discussed as they are not within the purview of this paper.

REF/JEF, *2*, p. 181–196, Bucureşti, 2007

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

survival of the Muslim/Malay cultural heritage. It is hoped that the performances of Malay music tradition will assist in the maintenance of Muslim/Malay values and cultural characteristics in the face of pressure from globalisation, modernization and Westernization.

In turn, it is argued that the evolution of folk music tradition occurs under pressure from the major cultural imperatives of Melayu*ness* and its particular relation to Islam. The role of the all these genres play in the blending together of traditional music of Malaysia, are discussed in relation to the development of a Malaysian national identity. I will conclude the paper with a discussion of the social importance of the *gambus* music, which acts as a symbol of Malay identity and pride tied to *Melayu* culture and religion in present day Malaysia.

My first contact with traditional musicians in Johor (in particular to *gambus* players and makers) came from information given to me by the Malaysian Culture and Sports Ministry in Kuala Lumpur. Although they had little knowledge about where I could find *gambus* players and makers, they provided me with one initial contact with a *gambus* player and also some information regarding cultural matters and behavioural expectations when conducting research in Malaysia. Eventually, through one contact, Pak Attan, a traditional musician from Renggit in Johor, I was introduced to other musicians and this gave me ever-widening access to their world of music. Although my contacts with the Malaysian Ministry of Culture and Tourism developed well, some problems were encountered with the local state government of Johor, a very important region for research into the *gambus*.[3] Subsequently, I was granted permission to conduct fieldwork by the Federal Government (Prime Minister's Office) in Kuala Lumpur, and this led to extensive field trips with no restrictions. This special permission stamped on my passport allowed me to gain access to many places in Malaysia, including government institutions and local *kampong* (Malay villages).

The *gambus* and its musical genres *zapin* and *ghazal* are not only found throughout the Malay World (*alam Melayu*), comprising Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore and Brunei, but also among non-Malay speaking communities of Aceh, Sulawesi, eastern Kalimantan, Flores and Java. After gaining a greater understanding of the *gambus* in its wider area I found it imperative to focus my research on one particular area. I decided to concentrate on the *gambus* and two of its musical genres, *zapin* and *ghazal,* as found in Peninsular Malaysia, and in particular in State of Johor.

[3] The Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports, established in 1964, is responsible for the promotion of cultural activities in Malaysia.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Map 1 Peninsular Malaysia

## SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Fieldwork interviews, discussions, conversations and seminars played a crucial part in this research. These were conducted with makers of *gambus*, professional and semi-professional *gambus* players, dancers and scholars. My data collection was largely based on personal interviews and participant-observation through learning to perform on the *gambus*. Baily (1995[b]: 331-347) discusses learning to perform as an important aspect of research methodology as it provides potential insight into musical structures and the science of music or "music theory" based on folk views held about the music. He points out that only as a performer can one acquire a certain essential kind of knowledge about music.[4]

[4] See Baily (1988).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

## METHODOLOGY

Most of the interviews were carried out in the *kampong* (Malay villages) in an informal setting. Over the ten years of my research I visited the same musicians, makers and dancers many times. Most interviews were carried out in *Bahasa Melayu* as very few practitioners spoke English in the *kampong*.[5] Part of my research was to find out what sort of "music theory" is articulated by different practitioners of Malay music. It was interesting to note that some of the things practitioners said in *Bahasa Melayu* differed from what had been stated in English by scholars. Practitioners in some instances contradicted each other and some musicians seemed to even change their opinions on some issues over a period of a few years. Through careful analysis I was able to clarify some confusing and conflicting points. These were the most difficult parts of my research as at times it was hard to make sense of some "musical terminology" expressed in *Bahasa Melayu*. The use of these terms differed from one place to another and was inconsistent. It took a tremendous amount of time to check and verify these sources.

In my fieldwork I did not confine my research to only one particular area. My initial field study was made in Johor. I then looked outwards by making field trips to the other *Melayu* cultural areas in Sumatra, Riau, Penyegat, Bintan, Kalimantan in Indonesia, Singapore, Brunei and also the coastal areas of Borneo (Sabah) and Sarawak in East Malaysia.[6] Finally, I went back to Johor (Peninsular Malaysia) and concentrated on my research. It became the focal point of this study. It was in the State of Johor that most of my extensive visits were done by locating myself in a few places where traditional folk musicians met and performed regularly. These were mainly in the towns of Batu Pahat, Muar and Johor Bahru. I also visited performers in Kuala Lumpur frequently, as some of the best traditional musicians have moved there from Johor, as opportunities of recognition and employment are better in the capital city.[7]

---

[5] Before World War I Malay was usually written in Arabic characters. The national language of Indonesia is a modified form of the Malay language called *Bahasa Indonesia*, and today is generally written in the Roman alphabet (McAmis, 2002: 47). The translation of most of the relevant materials from *Bahasa Melayu* into English is mine.

[6] Historically, the Isthmus of Kra, the Malay Peninsula, Riau, Sumatra and Kalimantan have belonged to one historical reality – the Malay World (*alam Melayu*). Geographically, this is an area interconnected by well-traversed bodies of water – the Straits of Melaka, the Straits of Singapore and the South China Sea (Benjamin and Chou, 2002:5).

[7] One such person is Fadzil Ahmad. He moved from Muar in Johor, to Kuala Lumpur and established himself as one of the finest *gambus* players in Malaysia. He was employed by the Ministry of Culture and Sport. He has also received many accolades from the State and has represented Malaysia as a *gambus* performer in many parts of the world. He is known as "Raja Gambus" (King of the *gambus*) in Malaysia.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

## THE IMPORTANCE OF JOHOR

Johor, in the southern end of Peninsular Malaysia, became the pivotal point of this study because most of the traditional musical instrument makers and performers are still connected with this state even though they may work elsewhere. Over the last 30 years, practitioners migrated to other parts of the country where greater opportunities permitted the practice of their art. I explained to these performers and makers of traditional musical instruments regarding my keen interest in Malay music and culture and they advised me about which areas I should visit in Peninsular Malaysia. Almost everyone I spoke to pointed in the direction of Johor (refer to Map 1). Throughout the entire research I have revisited many of the important "cultural hot spots" in Johor.

There were several reasons for choosing Peninsular Malaysia (*Semenanjung Tanah Melayu*), and particularly Johor as the site for my research. First, Johor became the new centre of the "*Melayu* kingdom" after the conquest of Melaka by the Portuguese in the 16th century. Second, Johor today is looked upon as the centre of *Melayu* culture and music by the rest of the *Melayu* speaking people from different parts of Malaysia and adjoining countries.[8] It seems that the *gambus* is closely identified with *Melayu* identity. Third, the *gambus* and its musical genres *zapin* and *ghazal* were always associated with Johor.[9] Fourth, most traditional musicians, *gambus* players and makers were scattered all over Johor but came together for the traditional music festivals which were held frequently in Johor Bahru (the most important town in the state of Johor). Finally, the *gambus* and its musical ensembles are often used as symbols to represent the state of Johor (see photographs [a] and [b]).

## JOHOR'S MUSICAL HERITAGE

Since the early 1990's, Johor has again been asserting its importance as the cultural centre of the Malay World (*alam Melayu*). Most traditional instrument makers are found in Johor, mainly in the towns of Muar, Batu Pahat, and Johor Bahru. Today, the *gambus* and its musical genres *zapin* and *ghazal* are closely

[8] The importance of Johor was also mentioned in Chinese sources. Historically, Johor has been known to traders as an important refitting and resting centre. Chinese sources have mentioned *Lo Yueh*, a town in Johor, which was described in the 9th century as "a place where traders passing back and forth meet" (Andaya and Andaya, 1982:22).

[9] The two areas in Johor, Muar and Batu Pahat, have maintained a form of the *zapin Melayu* tradition, which is not duplicated anywhere else in the Peninsula except in Trengganu state (Mohd. Anis Md. Nor, 1993).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

identified with this state. There are also other less popular musical genres that are identified with Johor, such as *kuda kepang* and *homdolok*. Other states in the Malay Peninsular have different music genres that are identified with them. For example, Penang and Melaka have their *kronchong* and *dondang saying*, Kelantan has its *wayang kulit*, and *ma'yong*, while Pahang has its *joget gamelan*. The question is why are *gambus, zapin and ghazal* mainly identified with Johor? Many Malay music scholars and musicians I asked were unable to provide a satisfactory explanation. However, they were unanimous in their opinion that *ghazal* and *zapin* were established first in the State of Johor and then spread to other parts of Peninsular Malaysia.

Mohd. Anis Md. Nor pointed out to me that *gambus*, *ghazal* and *zapin* are identified with Johor just as other states have their own musical genres and instruments.[10] The popularity of traditional music is due to royal patronage. It can be attributed to Colonel Haji Musa (Pak Lomak) who is said to have been responsible for changing the Indian *ghazal* to the "Malay style".[11] This view was supported by both Pak Hassan bin Othman, a highly respected maker of the *gambus* and Fadzil Ahmad, a distinguished *gambus* performer from Malaysia.[12]

It can be argued without any doubt that *ghazal* and *zapin* are unique musical tradition of Johor and that the *gambus* can be considered a state symbol. The three most important towns associated with the *gambus* are Batu Pahat, Johor Bahru, and Muar, where some of the best *gambus* makers, performers and ensembles are located. The situation is reminiscent of New Orleans as an important centre for jazz in the early 20th century. In general, the best musicians first establish a name for themselves in Johor before moving out to the big cities outside the state, where greater employment opportunities exist for them as teachers, makers and performers.

The views expressed by Pak Hassan (maker), Fadzil Ahmad (performer) and Anis (scholar) indicated the importance of Johor for the *gambus* and its musical genres. It seems that the *gambus Hadhramaut* is mainly used in Peninsular Malaysia. The *gambus Melayu* is rarely used in the peninsula today except in *hamdolok*. However in the East Malaysian state of Sarawak and Sabah the *gambus Melayu* is more popularly used than the *gambus Hadhramaut*. Moreover, the Tourist Information Office confirms that Johor State distinguishes itself as a centre for *gambus* music and dance. It is interesting to note that pamphlets and tourist maps of Malaysia, when referring to Johor state, often have logos featuring the *gambus* and sometimes its musical ensembles printed on them. The pamphlet,

[10] Personal communication: 4th June 1998.

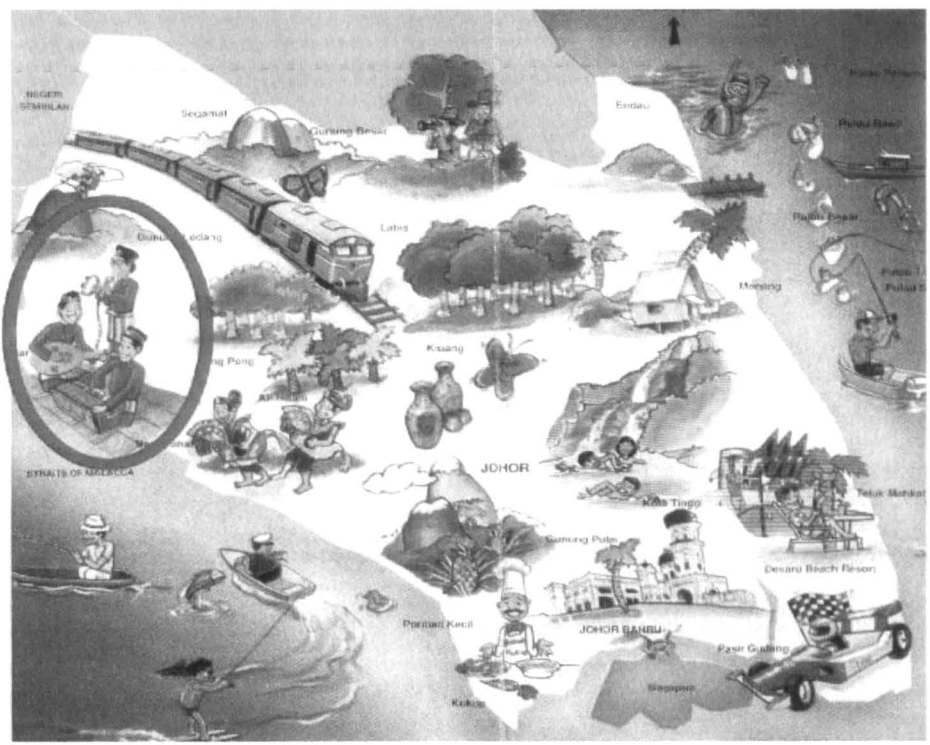
[11] Pak Lomak and his contributions to *ghazal Melayu* (See unpublished doctoral thesis by L.H. Francis, 2004).

[12] Pak Hassan bin Othman has been presented with many cultural awards by the Federal Government and the Sultan of Johor for his contributions to Malay music and culture.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Photograph [a], below shows three male musicians (circled in red) performing. The musicians are dressed in *baju Melayu* (traditional Malay costume). Two musicians are sitting cross-legged on the floor, one of them is playing a *gambus Hadhramaut,* while the other is performing on the harmonium. The third member is playing the *kompang* while standing. The other pamphlet, Photograph [b], shows two male musicians (also circled in red) seated crossed-legged and dressed in the traditional Malay costume performing on a *gambus Hadhramaut* and a harmonium. These two examples of the tourist pamphlets showing logos representing the *ghazal* and *zapin* ensembles indicate the significance of the *gambus* and the two musical genres in Johor.[13]

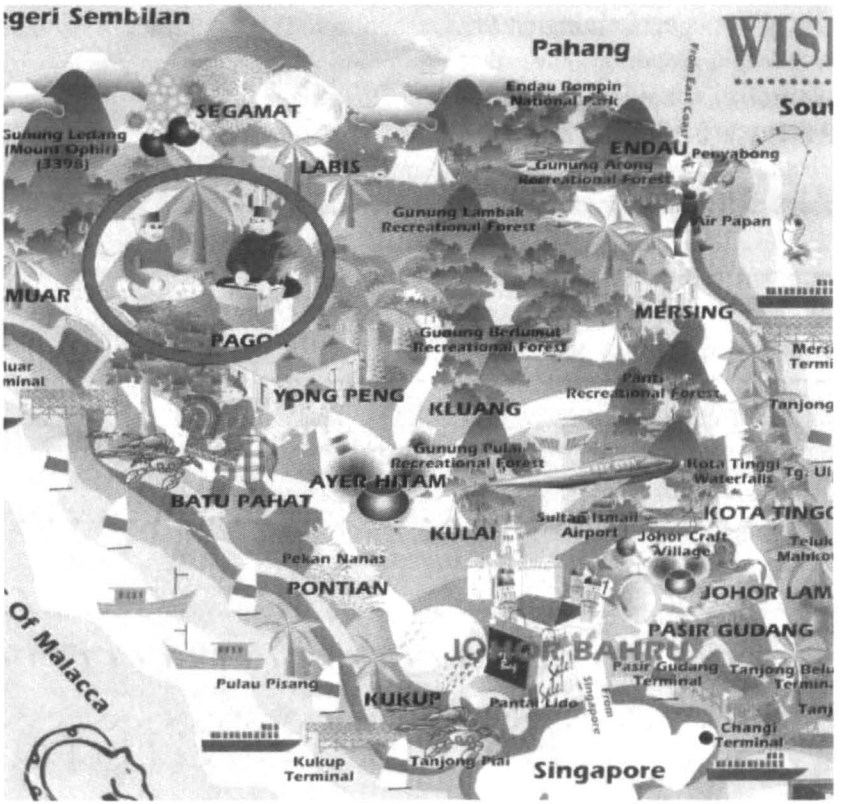
Photograph [a]
Johor Tourist Map Showing
*Gambus* Ensemble




[13] Photograph [a] from the Department of Tourism Johor and Photography [b] was published by the Tourism Development Corporation of Malaysia Ministry of Culture, Arts and Tourism and printed by Inventra Print Sdn. Bhd. March 1992.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Photograph [b]
Another Johor Tourist Map Showing
*Gambus* Ensemble




Tourist information pamphlets mention *ghazal* ensembles as a popular art form of Johor that has been developed since the 19th century. These pamphlets also state that the *gambus* is the "king instrument" (*raja alat-alat muzik*) in these two music genres.[14] *Zapin* and *ghazal* play dual roles, being both the music of the *rakyat* (common folk) living in the *kampong* as well as entertainment for the aristocrats in the royal court. It is apparent that today Johor is consolidating its position as the centre of *gambus* music through the unyielding support of the State Government. *Gambus* music has become a symbolic representation of Johor State. In the last decade, Johor hosted many of the local and regional *zapin* and *ghazal* festivals. The venue of the festivals usually rotates each year from countries in the Malay world (*alam Melayu*). Over the years, Johor has hosted these festivals more

[14] Shiloah (1995:17) describes the '*ud* as the symbol par excellence of Arab art music, with the title "king of instruments". It is interesting to note the similar importance is given to the *gambus* in Malaysia and *alam Melayu*.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

frequently than the other countries of the Malay world (*alam Melayu*). This is because of its strong economy, suitability of venue and conference facilities, its convenient location, its political security and, most importantly, Johor's present position as the centre of *Melayu* culture. The Johor state government and the *Mentri Besar* (Chief Minister) have also been enthusiastically supporting these festivals, thus further consolidating its position as an important cultural centre. On all occasions I have witnessed, the *Mentri Besar,* Encik Ghani Othman, has been the guest of honour at these festivals, which signifies the importance of such events in the promotion of Malay culture.

In 2001 Johor hosted the Malay World Arts Festival (*Festival Kesenian Melayu Sedunia*), where musicians, dancers and academics from all over the *Malayo-Polynesian* world, were invited to participate. Today, Johor is vigorously exerting its cultural role and importance in the Malay world (a*lam Melayu*) as shown by the sponsorship of international festivals and seminars on Malay music and culture. One of the objectives mentioned in the programme notes for the Malay World Arts Festival 2001 was, "To introduce to the Malay world Johor's well-known arts, the *Zapin* and *Ghazal*; thus entrusting Johor to play its role as a regional centre of reference and development of Malay culture" (2001: 6).[15]

Recently, the state of Johor has been encouraging the study of traditional Malay music and dance in its schools. Many primary and secondary schools take an active part in *ghazal* and *zapin* competitions. Children in state schools are encouraged to learn traditional instruments and dance as part of their elective activities. *Zapin* festivals are held yearly as a form of inter-school competitions. There have also been a few mass music and dance camps organised for school children to attend workshops and performances of *zapin* and *ghazal*. These camps are run by various educational and cultural development organisations in collaboration with Universiti Malaya.[16] They are government initiated programmes for the revival of traditional music in Johor. Today, state patronage of traditional culture receives the full support of the *Mentri Besar* Dato Haji. Abdul Ghani bin Othman. He writes:

> The Johor State Government's viewpoint on culture is that, culture needs to be nourished and developed in line with the state development to ensure preservation of the national identity. Thus, to achieve such objectives various programmes have been planned and implemented by the State Government.[17]

---

[15] *Festival Kesenian Melayu Sedunia* (Malay World Arts Festival) held from the 28th September to 7th October 2001 in Johor.

[16] Professor Mohd. Anis Md. Nor from Universiti Malaya has been instrumental in developing the *zapin* music and dance programmes. He has been also actively involved in many of the *zapin* festivals, which are held in Malaysia.

[17] *Festival Kesenian Melayu Sedunia* (Malay World Arts Festival) held from the 28th September to 7th October 2001 in Johor.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

The State Government of Johor hopes to perpetuate cultural and musical practices by the establishment of community music associations such as Yayasan Warisan Johor. This is one of the few places in Malaysia where traditional music and dance is taught with the financial support of the state. Today in Malaysia there is an unofficial consensus that the *gambus* is considered as a traditional instrument of Johor. It can be concluded that traditional music activities have in recent years actually begun to thrive because of the associations with renewed feelings of national pride and cultural identity in modern Malaysia.

## THE FUTURE OF *GAMBUS* AND OTHER JOHOR MUSICAL PRACTICES IN THE FORMATION OF A NATIONAL CULTURE

"Issues of cultural identity seem likely to constitute some of the major problems confronting humanity in the twenty-first century" (Baily: 1994: 45). Baily's research on the development of Afghan national identity show many parallels with Malaysia. He suggests that the role of music in the creation of an Afghan national identity is but one part of a wider pattern of musical change related to processes of modernism and modernisation in Afghan history. Analogies could also be made to the development of Afghan *rubab* (plucked-lute) as a national instrument, the same way the *gambus* is identified with Malaysia.[18] Gellner has defined this concept of "nation" in the following terms:

> Two men are of the same nation if and only if they share the same culture, where culture in turn means a system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating (1988:7).[19]

With Malaysia, its problems are complicated by the heterogeneous composition of the population. Malaysia is a classic "plural society", with various ethnic groups who for many centuries maintained more or less separate social-cultural systems, education (in Chinese or Indian languages) and ethnic identity.[20] In the 20th century, Malaysia faced different challenges, especially with migrant labourers brought from China and India by the British. These have over the years upset the indigenous balance, leading to the development of a pluralist society.

Before Malaysia gained its independence in 1957, Malay culture and music were dominated by traditional and folk art, often with a regional (pan-Malay and Islamic) or local flavour with modernised and syncretic variations on traditional themes. Most of these songs had local and multicultural themes with popular

[18] "The Role of Music in the Creation of an Afghan National Identity, 1923-73" (Baily, 1994:45-60).

[19] See Ernest Gellner in *Nations and Nationalism*.

[20] *Bahasa Melayu* is the main language spoken in Malaysia with English as the next most important language.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Western musical instruments. Some Malay songs were adopted from Indian, Chinese, European and Latin American tunes. The dance movements had influences from Indian, Chinese and Western dance forms. In the search for a regional *Melayu* identity expressed through music and traditional instruments, a new cultural assertiveness has emerged founded on notions of *Melayu*ness and Islam as their primary source of inspiration.

The post-colonial years witnessed considerable economic growth and movement towards the creation of a national culture. However, there were also continuing problems, including political tension (separation with Singapore), communal problems (racial riots), socio-economic inequalities, regional insurgencies and confrontations with Indonesia, religious fundamentalism and communist insurgency. The most serious problem Malaysia faced was the fragile composition of its ethnic population. The strong distrust on the part of indigenous Malays towards the "alien" communities in Malaysia led to many racial riots in the 1960's. Rapid economic development brought peace, stability and unity amongst the various ethnic groups and this temporarily solved the problems confronting issues of race and religion in multi-cultural Malaysia. The questions of national identity and Malay heritage were constantly debated.

Smith (1991) argues that national identity comprises both a cultural and political identity. He argues that national identity and nation are complex constructs comprising a number of interrelated components – ethnic, cultural, territorial, economic, legal and political. They signify bonds of solidarity amongst members of communities united by shared memories, myths and traditions. In the case of Malaysia, it seems that the national culture should not only emphasize the distinctiveness of the indigenous (*Bumiputera*) identity but also include the harmony of the migrant societies of the Chinese and the Indian population. As Zain Ismail states:

> Firstly, it is a matter of symbolic importance for a new nation to assert its identity in the family of nations. Secondly, in a country with a multi-racial and multi-cultural society, more urgent is the need to have a national and common culture for purposes of national unity (1977:1).

The government was cautious when dealing with the idea of assimilation or transforming everyone into "Malay"; instead, it has integrated all the main ethnic groups into adopting the language (*Bahasa Melayu*) and cultural traditions of the "*Melayu* people". On the contrary, Dr. Burharuddin in the 1950's assured all Malaysians of migrant background that they can also acquire *Melayu* nationality through a practice termed as "*Jadi Melayu*" (become *Melayu* or "*Masuk Melayu*"[become *Melayu*]).[21] He argues that those who have changed their

[21] Dr.Burhanuddin Helmy Mohd., could have become the first Prime Minister of Malaysia if the Japanese had not surrendered so suddenly in August 1945 (Mutalib, 1993:24). Also see Kim (2001: 187-202).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

nationality by adopting Malay culture have transformed their original identity into Malay identity and therefore qualify as Malays.

The search for national identity based on indigenous musical culture (*Bumiputera*) gives a new meaning to the recent development of blending traditional Malay and popular music. Lehr (1983) underlines the potential importance of music in promoting national identity. In the search for a national music, the *gambus* and its musical genres can be seen as portraying both *Melayu*ness and also a Malaysian identity that would represent the people of all ethnic groups living in Malaysia. This study has shown that *zapin, ghazal, kuda kepang* and *hamdolok* are considered as an expression of both local (Johor) as well as national music, together with the *gambus* as one of the symbolic representations of national identity.

The new Malaysian identity in the 1990's espoused in the *Rukunegara* (Article of Faith of the State) was based on Malay language and culture, incorporating aspects of the migrant cultures. As emphasized by the government, it seems that the urgency for the creation of a national musical culture is fundamentally important to the nation's development. My study shows that the development of Malaysia's national music and culture takes the form of a distinctive Malay popular music that incorporates many traditional musical elements and the use of traditional instruments. Malay popular music industries developed and new styles proliferated, largely imitating Western popular music with Malay traditional music elements. I conclude that the blending of traditional and popular music plays an important role in the development of a national Malay music.

Another factor that has contributed to the development of a national music is the school education programme. Efforts to boost the teaching of traditional music in schools have featured the participation of children of non-Malay background and from non-Malay schools (i.e. not *Madrasah* or Malay medium school) in the *zapin* and *ghazal* competitions held annually in Johor. Chopyak (1987: 451) mentions that the success in reaching the goal of establishing a cultural identity through music education programmes especially among the current generation of school children seems to have produced a more unified musical identity than that experienced by their parent's generation. Only with this development of cross-cultural participation can the *gambus* and its musical genres and dance be truly representative of Malaysian identity, cutting across racial, religious and cultural divisions.

In this new millennium, despite many unresolved "racial issues", the new Malaysian identity is based on the use of the Malay language and culture, yet has also incorporated aspects of the other migrant cultures. In conclusion, the importance of the role, status and the representation of the *gambus* within the Malaysian musical heritage is slowly emerging, as the *gambus* is used in both Malay traditional and Malaysian popular music. The *gambus,* because of its versatile role, is a significant factor in the blending of traditional music into the

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

popular style, recognizable as being Malaysian in its musical characteristics. All these musical and cultural elements are part of the process of developing a national musical culture, incorporating Johorian musical practices with Malaysian identity that may be a potent unifying factor towards the development of a national music.

## CONCLUSION

Music plays an important part in Muslim/Malay society and traditional music continues to function in the normal everyday life of most people in the State of Johor. Musicians are paid for performing at weddings, religious ceremonies and in public performances. The status of traditional musicians is still ambiguous, however, and economically, traditional performers have never commanded a good income in Malay society. The traditional musicians are usually semi-professional musicians and need to attend to their daily tasks first before music making, as it has always been a part-time work affair. However, more recently, the importance given to traditional music has added a new dimension to music, with strong cultural values attached to *gambus*, *zapin*, *ghazal*, *kuda kepang* and *hamdolok*. It seems that under the impact of Westernization the changes in traditional music are closely akin to the idea of developing Malay music, aligned to the Great Tradition, bestowed to Western art music.[22] This may change the way of learning the music of *zapin*, *ghazal*, *kuda kepang* and *hamdolok*, from oral transmission to the use of Western notational system as institutionalized music of the new era.

It seems that few young people today show much interest in traditional music such as *ghazal*, *wayang kulit*, *asli* and other traditional art forms and in recent years Islamic fundamentalism designated some of these arts as essentially pre-Islamic and hence *haram* (Lockard 1991: 43). Therefore, the place of music within Muslim/Malay society is ambiguous. Islam proscribes the use of instruments and music, but to most Muslim/Malays in Peninsular Malaysia, music is not seen as taboo. It can be argued that Islam has, since the 14th century, transformed the culture of the Malays, and that Islamic beliefs and ethos have become the foundation of their culture.

Without any doubt, Johor State surpasses other *Melayu* regions (*alam Melayu*) in terms of tradition. It has now become the torch bearer for *Melayu* culture and is respected as being the centre of the Malay world (*alam Melayu*). It can be argued that the *Melayu*ness in *zapin*, *ghazal*, *gambus*, *kuda kepang* and *hamdolok* are distinctly different from these forms in India, Persia, Arabia or Indonesia and have become a manifestation of Malay culture. There are very clear

[22] The concept of Great Tradition and Little Traditions were borrowed from the study by Redfield and Singer (1969), *The Cultural Roles of Cities*. This study propounds ideas concerning the part played by the development of urban societies, affecting the decline, adaptation and changes in cultures.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

signs from the observations made by this researcher of the tremendous amount of support that has been given by Johor State in the promotion of *zapin, ghazal, gambus, kuda kepang and hamdolok.*

In recent years, *zapin* participants from non-Malay medium schools and colleges were well represented in *zapin* and *ghazal* competitions held in Johor. These are clear signs of the increasing interest shown in traditional Malay music and dance by non-Muslims coming from other ethnic and cultural backgrounds. These musical festivals (both local and regional) have also enhanced the prestige of Johor as the centre of *Melayu* culture and music.

Although there has been a "cross-over" of traditional musical instruments into popular culture, interest in popular culture has also affected the status of traditional music to some extent. In speaking to many young Malay singers, I found they considered traditional songs to be "old fashioned". Traditional singers rarely achieve the type of "star" status and success gained by popular singers in Malaysia, and are also aware of the remote chance of success and the difficulties to be encountered in the competitive commercial market. Younger singers and musicians tend to favour popular music for financial reasons, as it has more mass appeal than traditional music. This, in some ways, contradicts official statements about the resurgence and popularity of learning to play the *gambus*. However, according to my study, the importance of *gambus* playing is dwindling, especially amongst the younger generation. The main threat is coming from the electric guitar. The official policy may claim success in the promotion of its traditional music but the reality of its commercial accomplishment is doubtful.

Learning to play the guitar is also more popular than learning the *gambus* because of the "hero" image associated with electric guitarists. The difficulty attached to learning the *gambus* and its lack of versatility may also contribute to its decline. The unfretted *gambus* is more difficult for children and beginners to be able to pitch and play tunes correctly. Improvisation, a key element in *gambus* playing, requires a lot of maturity and musical understanding, and it takes a long time to acquire this art. The guitar takes a shorter amount of time for a beginner to strum an accompaniment or play a tune, whereas the *gambus* cannot be strummed. The guitar is also a ubiquitous instrument and can be more easily carried than the oddly-shaped *gambus*. Purchasing a *gambus* is also a problem, as they are not sold in shopping centres. But the main problem in learning the *gambus* is finding a suitable teacher. Teach-yourself guitar books are easily obtainable but do not exist for the *gambus*. These are some factors, which have contributed to the decline of interest in the *gambus*.

The decline in *gambus* learning poses a problem for the continuation of the tradition. Many expert performers and makers of the *gambus* are approaching retirement age and their knowledge of an oral tradition needs to be passed on to the younger generation. There is an urgent need to look at ways of arousing interest in the younger generation to continue the tradition, or else it will gradually disappear.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

The role the *gambus* plays in Malay popular music suggests that cross-over may be its only chance of maintaining its importance and survival.

In conclusion, it seems that the continuity of traditional music and dance through school education programmes is being perpetuated for the survival of the Malay cultural heritage. The promotion of national music and culture has now gained a foothold in universities in Malaysia where students can study the performance of traditional music and also do research on various aspects of Malay traditional music, dance and drama.

Although the broad goal of fostering national identity was defined by the government, there is no clear idea of how to achieve it. It is hoped that the performances of Malay musical tradition will assist in the maintenance of Muslim/Malay values and cultural characteristics in the face of pressures from globalization and its effects on *Melayu* tradition. Hence the formulation of a national culture must accentuate the distinctiveness of the indigenous cultures (*Bumiputera*), incorporating cultural elements from the large migrant population (Chinese and Indian), amalgamated into the national identity of Malaysia.

It is justifiable to conclude that the vigorous promotion of Malay traditional music could well have the desired impact towards the development and the formation of a national culture, crossing racial, cultural and religious boundaries for all Malaysians. To say that there is a revival in traditional Malay music today may be over-emphasizing the fact, but certainly there is the awareness for a new consciousness towards the development of Johor's national music by fusing of traditional Johorian music into the Malaysian society of the twenty-first century.

## REFERENCES

**Andaya**, B.W. and Andaya L.Y. 1982. *A History of Malaysia*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

**Baily**, John. 1988. *Music of Afghanistan: Professional Musicians in the City of Herat*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**Baily**, John. 1994. "The Role of Music in the Creation of an Afghan National Identity, 1923-73". Martin Stokes (ed.) *Ethnicity, Identity and Music. The Musical Construction of Place*. Oxford: Berg Publishers, pp.45-60.

**Baily**, John. 1995. "Learning to Perform as a Research Technique in Ethnomusicology". *Lux Oriente. Begegnungen der Kulturen in der Musikforschung*. Koln: Gustav Bosse Verlag Kassel, 331-347. Reprinted in *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 2001, 10 (2), pp.85-98.

**Benjamin** and Chou (eds.). 2002. *Tribal Communities in the Malay World. Historical, Cultural and Social Perspectives*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

**Chopyak**, James. 1987. "Role of Music in Mass Media, Public Education and the Formation of a Malaysian National Culture". *Ethnomusicology*, pp.431-454. "Music in Modern Malaysia: A Surveyor of the Musics Affecting the Development of Malaysian Popular Music". *Asian Music* 18 (1):111-138.

**Coope**, A.E. 1991. *A Malay-English/English–Malay Dictionary* (Revised Edition). Malaysia: Macmillan Publication.

**Gellner**, Ernest.1988. *Nation and Nationalism*. (Reprinted). Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

**Hilarian**, Larry Francis. 2003 "Documentación y rastreo histórico del laúd malayo (gambus)". *Desacatos Revista de Antropologia Social. 12 Expresiones y sonidos de los pueblos* (Mexico), 78-92.

**Hilarian**, Larry Francis. 2005. "The Structure and Development of the Gambus (Malay-Lutes)". *The Galpin Society Journal* LVIII: 66-82; 215-216.

**Hussin** Mutalib. 1993. *Islam in Malaysia. From Revivalism to Islamic State*. Singapore University Press.

**Kim**, Kay Khoo. 2001. *Malay Society: Transformation & Democratisation*. Malaysia: Pelanduk Publications.

**Lockard**, C.1991. *Crossroads. An interdisciplinary Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*. (Special Issue) *Modern Malaysian Music*, 6, (1) Center for Southeast Asian Studies: Northern Illinois University Press.

**McAmis**, Robert Day. 2002. *Malay Muslims*: *The History and Challenge of Resurgent Islam in Southeast Asia*. Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.

**Mohd**. Anis Md. Nor. 1993. *Zapin, Folk Dance of the Malay World*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.

**Redfield**, R. and M. Singer. 1969. "The Cultural Roles of Cities". (ed.) Sennett, R. *Classical Essays in the Culture of Cities*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, pp. 206-233.

**Shiloah**, Amnon. 1995. *Music in the World of Islam*: *A Socio-cultural study*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

**Smith**, D. Anthony. 1991. *National Identity*. United Kingdom: Penguin Books.

**Wee**, Vivienne. 1985. "Melayu: Hierarchies of Being in Riau". Unpublished PhD. dissertation. Australian National University.

**Zain**, Ismail. 1977. *Cultural Planning and General Development in Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

# POPULAR MUSICS OF THE FINNISH ROMA

KAI ÅBERG

**ABSTRACT**

During the last twenty years the situation of Finnish Roma has changed drastically. The romanticized culture of exoticism has been replaced in the representation of Roma by the "culture of strengthness". It seems, that popular Finnish dance music plays an important role in this process. Since the early 1970's the label "Roma singers" has been used in the production of recordings. Nowadays Roma artists have started to become visible in Finnish popular music scene, stressing their ethnic identity. The music made or performed by the Roma has come closer to the everyday life of people. Traditionally there are two kinds of music performed by the Roma: one is musical service for non-Roma audiences, the other is music made within the Roma community (see Kovalcshik 2003, 85). Nowadays the records include many genres varying from dance music and pop to folk, music for children and religious music e.g., In this article I will concentrate on the first one: The dance music of the Finnish Roma. How the dance music performed by the Roma differs from the music of other Finns? I approached this question by using the contextual, historical, cultural and social viewpoints. The focus of this article is on Roma who work as dance musicians. For the present study, ethnographic field research was carried out among the Finnish Roma between 1994 and 2008. The methods of participant observation and the life story interviews were employed during fieldwork. During that time 600 Roma songs were recorded, hundreds of religious songs, as well as popular songs.

*Key words*: Finnish Roma (Kale), Dance music, Roma artists, Ethnic identity.

## INTRODUCTION

Applied ethnomusicology has a special relevance for studies on music and minorities. Roma are the minority par excellence[1], having no nation state anywhere in the world. Roma are usually discriminated against wherever they live; at the

[1] I use here the term Roma because it is of a politically and ethnically correct discourse. Roma is also primarily used in media texts about Roma singers in Finland and also at an official public level elsewhere in Europe (see also Slavkova 2007, 205).



https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

same time they are often praised for their musical skills. Ethnomusicologist Carol Silverman, for example, describes this socio-political phenomenon in the Balkans: "In fact, most Balkan non-Roma do value Rom musical abilities while simultaneously discriminating against them as a people" (Silverman 1996, 237; for Austria, Hemetek 2006, 41, for Romania, Marian-Bălaşa 2004). This holds true for Finland as well. The cultural situation of the Finnish Roma in Finland is still far from stable (in the end of 2000 the Finnish Roma, Kale population was about 10 000 but there are approximately 3000 Finnish Roma who live in Sweden). Yet, their status has increased considerably, a process that should be linked also to the contemporary development of popular dance music. As it is well known, music interacts with the "local structure of feeling", thus the living together and gathering that is occasioned by music influence the entire web of social connection. Today, Roma popular dance music also penetrates all the other layers of the Finnish society.

Today, Roma's history and culture are a major topic of debate, discussion and evaluation in Finland. Finish Roma are seeing minority rights, redress wrong deeds, and benefit from political representation in the government. However, commercial media, with a bow to political correctness here and there, for the most part continues to indulge the stereotypes related to "Gypsies" (Malvinni 2004, 203; Åberg 2006). All this is, perhaps, nowhere better illustrated than in popular/dance music marketing where Roma artists are a kind of exotic category. Music, it has been illustrated, can bond displaced peoples, effectively bridging the geographic distance between them and providing a sense of shared collective identity articulated by a symbolic sense of community (see Bennet 2004, 4). For me the music systems are integral with the cultural ones and cannot not be understood apart from them, like John Blacking (1967, 191-198) writes. What it comes to identity, the emphasis lies on the relationships between music and the ethnic, cultural, gender, religious (etc.) identities. I do not see the identity as essential but as constructive. With identity constructions I refer to produced and constructed identity (see Hall 1996).

In Finland Roma artists are popular, and they have a big influence on the Finnish popular music scene. Inevitable perhaps, the power that can be investigated in music as a statement of identity has also led to music becoming an instrument and expression of ethnicity. Out of all the operational structural elements of the Roma's cultural identity, the most influential, in Finland, is popular music. It operates across both ethno-communities, links Finnicism and "Gypsyism", and affects the various identity dimensions of the Finnish Roma. As a proud emblem of achievement, music is increasingly playing a significant role in the creation of the modern, trans-national Roma community. Roma singers have an opportunity to change the myth of "Gypsyism", because they cross ethnic borders and act as new channels for communication between societies.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

In this article, the terms Finnish "popular music" and Finnish "dance music" are used here nearly in the same meaning (the so-called *iskelmä*, hit tunes, by popular singers). I prefer "dance music" and "dance musicians" because their meaning is closer to how the informants see their music and themselves.

Study of Romany music in Finland is relatively new. Even though, the academic recording of Roma music in Finland is relatively advanced. For example Erkki Alakönni, the first professor of Folkloristics at the University of Tampere, collected music (296 songs) amongst Roma for several years. Systematic research of Roma folk music in Finland begins in the 1960's and 1970's. In that time SKS, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura (Finnish Literature Society), started systemically to collect Roma music. Most of Roma music in the archives has been recorded in Southern Ostrobothnia and Southern Finland in the late 1960's and early 1970's by Finnish Literature Society. In 1972 the tape collections of the Folklore Archives contained over a hundred hours of Roma tradition and nearly a thousand songs. These songs still require further research. The fruits of this work resulted finally in the first anthology of Finnish Roma music *Kaale dzambena – Suomen mustalaiset laulavat* (1969) ("Kaale dzambena – the Finnish Gypsies Sing"). On the basis of the same material, professor Pekka Jalkanen wrote the only article that was available for many years on Finnish Roma music (Jalkanen 1976). More recent singer generations have been introduced in the collection *Luludzako drom – Finitiko romanegro dzambibi kalikos ta aka diives – Suomen romanien lauluja eilen ja tänään* (1996) ("Luludzako drom – Finitiko romanegro dzambibi kalikos ta aka diives – songs of the Finnish gypsies now and yesterday"). The album gives a comprehensive picture of both the old and the new style of Roma songs, and ways of performance. The folk songs of the Roma of Finland are today represented by the thousands on recordings in the archives of the SKS in Helsinki and Joensuu. There are also many private collections (Halmetoja; Palm; Åberg). In 2002 the first doctoral desertion of the Finnish Roma music was published *Nää laulut kato kertoo meijän elämästä – Tutkimus romanien laulukulttuurista Itä-Suomessa 1990-luvulla* (Åberg 2002; 2003; 2006)[2]. In 2004 Risto Blomster's doctoral research Finnish Roma songs was prepared (Blomster 2004)

## FIELDWORK

For the present study, ethnographic field research was carried out among the Finnish Roma between 1994 and 2008. The main purpose of the research was to

[2] I have written articles about Finnish Roma and their music focusing on themes such as: traditional songs (1999a; 1999b; 2000b; 2002; 2003a; 2003b; 2004a; 2004b; 2004c; 2006a; 2006c), religious music (2002; 2004a), music and gender (1998; 2002), music and masculinity (1998; 2008), fieldwork among Finnish Roma (2002; 2005a), dance music (2000a; 2002; 2006d), Roma's "Gypsy dance" (2007b).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

study Roma's traditional music (songs). The choice of the music for field research was also motivated by the aim to observe the influence of different musical styles and genres among the Finnish Roma (traditional music, religious music, and dance music). The research was conducted in different towns and villages in Finland.

My fieldwork material was gathered in the interaction between the researcher and the interviewees. Thus, the study is epistemologically based on the dialogic anthropology that goes hand in hand with hermeneutic knowledge. In the dialogic anthropology the meanings and interpretation are seen as contextual and hermeneutic (see Pool 1989, 240-241). With the concept of dialogic research I mean the different phases of my studying process: the meeting of the researcher and the informant –interview and musical interaction –, the relationship between the taped and written field material, and the written study and the reader. In addition, as a researcher I interact with other researchers, at least through their writings. The study process has been dialogic in nature as well as in the interaction between theories, concepts and cultural, social and historical factors.

This article draws primarily on methods of analysis used by ethnomusicologists, anthropologists and ethnographers of musical performances: my research relies on extensive fieldwork both as an observer and participant. The method of bimusical aspects (see Hood 1971) was used as well. I travelled and also worked over one year as a musician with Roma artists orchestra all over Finland, and documented the activities of musicians and audiences also by making interviews and recordings, taking photographs etc. So, my approach is mainly ethnographic, based on fieldwork, interviews, participatory observation, video documents, and photographs.

The informants had different educational backgrounds and they belonged to different social categories, age and gender groups. During the field research conversations were held with Roma singers who have no education at all or only have primary education; with Roma who have secondary education or people who have some musical education. The age of the interviewees extended from school pupils to elderly cohort of persons of 70 to 80 years old.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In looking at the Finnish Roma population we must bear in mind that we are talking about the very homogenous Kale population. The Roma came to Scandinavia in the early 16$^{th}$ century, mainly from the British Isles where Denmark had close dynastic and commercial relations. The party known as the pilgrims of Count Antonius Cagino first arrived in Copenhagen (1505), while in 1512 certain Stockholm documents refer to the same group. As elsewhere in Europe, these "pilgrims" were granted the normal hospitability but the first attempts to expel the Gypsies that had remained in the country started as early as in the 1520s (Pulma

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

2006, 216). Finland acquired the largest and most homogeneous Romani population, with the *Kale* population comprising groups of Roma that arrived through Sweden as early as the 16th century. In the 19th century this group was strengthened by Russian immigrants who, however, have merged with the Finnish *Kale* (Pulma 2006, 215). The Finnish Roma led the traditional way of life. In Finland, the *Kale* Roma remained the only vagabonding groups of families, with new living opportunities offered by Finland's new status as a part of Russia. The Roma earned a living mainly as horse traders and horse breeders, fortune tellers and beggars, but a consistent number of Roma men were in public employment as genitors. As long as the landless were required to have a place of service in order to get legal protection, and as a guarantee against vagrancy, many Roma also tried to acquire a lease or to buy a part of a farm to be their own. At the local level, Roma were tolerated without too many problems; their services were needed, and the most Roma families regularly travelled short distances and established routes. Notorious vagrants were only in the scarcely populated north-eastern and eastern parts of the country (Pulma 2006, 221). Because Roma refused to assimilate, keeping their rituals and lifestyle basically intact, their outsider status has remained, leaving profound marks on their culture (Malvinni 2004, ix). Finland had no real Romani policy during the first four decades of the 20th century; the poor, agricultural country became independent in 1917 and went through a devastating civil war in 1918. The Roma were far too small a group and a local problem to raise any political interest on the national level. In Roma's own narratives, the 1920s and 1930s are remembered as the "golden era", with a livelihood earned easier in the more prosperous rural areas compared to the period of structural change after in the 1940s, although the closing of the Russian border in 1918 had had an adverse impact on the life of Roma in Eastern Finland. Moreover, Finland never went through a period of racial theories and eugenics policies as other Scandinavien countries did.

During the1960's and 1970's there were some attempts at making the situation of the Romanies better by a special accommodation law. At that time also some Romany associations were established, with the purpose of improving Romany peoples' status. At the same time, Roma began to develop an ethnic music-culture from the 1970's (similar with that in Hungary, see Kovalchik 2003). However, it was only in the mid 1990's when Roma were given the constitutional right in concern with their language and culture. As it is well known, opening borders, globalisation, wars and exile increase the movement of people from one country another. During the 1990's, Finland has become more multicultural than ever before. The growing number of foreigners coming to the country has raised discussion about human rights, tolerance and discrimination. However, there is still very little information about the old minorities, such as the Roma, in the teaching materials of schools, in materials directed to different occupational groups, as well as in teachers' training (Markkanen 2003, 264–265). Roma society in Finland has

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

not had an "intelligentsia", highly trained persons able to write the history of their community. In the late 1980's and early 1990's the Roma have, however, become seriously interested in their history.

Nowadays, there are 10 000 Romanies in Finland and, as well as 3000 Finnish Romanies in Sweden (cf. Markkanen 2003, 262). Because the Roma refused to assimilate, keeping their rituals and lifestyle basically intact, something of an outsider status still has remained with them, leaving profound marks on their culture.

In 1940–1950 Finnish movie industry produced several films which featured Roma and "Gypsy music". Films were made by "white people" and even there were no real Roma musicians cast there, these films provided one-sided western stereotypes about Gypsies and their music, while simultaneously forgetting the sometimes harsh political and economic reality of Roma life. Here is the danger that is sometimes referred to as romanticism, often surging in the attempts at understanding Roma folks, as David Malvinni puts it (2004, 167).

Since the early 1970's the label "Roma artists" has been used in the production of recordings. This, despite the fact that the Finns who were Roma, like Olavi Virta, made recordings long before that. The first professional Roma singer was Olavi Virta. He was a great singer and a "half-Gypsy", as the media wrote (Jalkanen 1976). His singing style was "smooth and deep" After Olavi Virta, by the end of the 1960's, popular music (the so-called *iskelmä*, hit tunes, by popular singers) made by Finnish Roma established itself quite well in the entire Finish society. Since that era Roma artists' music has come closer to the everyday life of all people in Finland.

There are many political and cultural reasons which explain this phenomenon. The ethnopolitical awakening took place in all Nordic countries starting from the 1950's. The first trend was assimilation or adaptation policy but the international system, such as UN principles and European human rights conventions, laid the foundation for the Roma to be defined as an ethnic minority. However, the ethnopolitical organisation of the Roma themselves was even more significant. Only as they raised their own voice did the debate start to include the question of their spontaneous culture and language as well as the imminent need for protection (Pulma 231, 2006).

The revival of ethnicity and the universal search for roots in the 1960's and 1970's emphasised the rights of minorities, in accordance with the pluralistic ideology, to their own cultures and inherent values. Thus, Roma cultures also became valuable and in need for preservation (Kopsa-Schön 1996, 256). In this process, also the first popular Roma singers in Finland had an important role, raising the awareness of ethnic identity within the Roma group (Jalkanen 1976). In other words, it is no longer possible to think about Roma music or the music the Roma performed without considering the Roma rights movement. Such a movement is actively creating a Romany self-awareness, for which music plays an important role. Nowadays Roma culture is something the Finns are interested in,

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

yet it is something of the Roma's very own. Also the artists have become self-aware about how they should market their music via their cultural background and the stereotypes related to Roma exoticism.

## BANDS AND THEIR REPERTOIRES

The popular music of Finnish Roma artists is most typically performed by a band with drums, electric bass, electric guitar, and keyboards. In Roma artists' band the sound varied from style to style. The most popular background sound is very conservative, and is played by electric guitar. The orchestral sound – just like the clothing of the musicians – is smooth and clean and it is very important to keep it pleasant and not to deviate too much from the ordinary. Most of the songs that the band played were the same as the other groups also performed. For example, in 1995-2002 many of them played *Virta vie, virta tuo*, which was a big hit recorded by a Roma artist called Rainer Friman.

The songs are performed so that the audience could distinguish each style immediately. The rhythmic structure is the main element in the stylistic division; but also the melodic and harmonic structures, the instrumentation and the sound had to vary, at least from style to style (see also Suutari 2000, 316).

The construction of a five to six hour programme is based on combining different musical styles. Two pieces of similar type are always played one after the other, and during the whole evening some styles are played only once, and others more often. The idea of dividing the programme into different musical styles is common to all bands I have played with, although the concepts and definitions varied to some extend. Most of the groups play all the styles of the so-called old dance music (polkka, jenkka, humppa, waltz, tango and foxtrot). Besides these, they also have modern beat, rock and roll, disco, slow-rock and several latin styles like samba, cha cha, and bossa nova in their repertoires. Not very many, but some of the bands also play their own compositions. Almost all the songs have clear tonal harmonization and steady rhythm, and almost all of the songs are sung in Finnish.

## THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS OF DANCE MUSIC

The interaction between musicians and the audience is a very important part of the dance culture. This laid the foundation for the dynamics of the repertoires as well as the style of performances. Not only the musicians' speeches and the banter between the pieces are important, but also their clothing, general attitude towards entertaining the audience, and of course their arrangements and playing that lead to good interaction and resonance from the dancers. Generally speaking, it is

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

important for all the participants that the label of Finnish "Gypsiness" is apparent: this can be said in the sound of voice, sound of the band, clothing and repertoire (old dance music). The Roma artists then need to have a consensus among their own motives and the suggestions from the audience when choosing songs (or instrumentals) for the repertoire. Individual pieces may extend it, but the general contents of the events must follow the traditions of Roma dance music and keep it recognizable.

The Roma have their own traditional style of interaction within the family and kin, and this is in a way planned in advance to suit different situations (Kopsa-Schön 1996, 253). The dance music scene follows these ritual behaviour patterns, "hidden rules" which are based on Roma culture. Unless orchestras or artists break these rules, everything goes well. The "rules of the game" can be grouped under the following prohibitions and obligations:

1. Prohibitions applying to a women, mother and children; 2. Young vs. old; 3. Men vs. women; 4. Utensils, clean places, clothes and laundry; 5. Rules regarding the dead; 6. Prohibitions concerning the control and movements of the body.

All these rules are manifested in practise as avoidance, silence, respect and shame; on these rules are based the main symbolic classes in Roma society, respect for elders and ritual cleanliness.

Parents, usually singers themselves, are likely to support their children's early interest in music. Even in rare cases, when parents, for whatever reason, did not want to teach their children music, there was always some relative or friend who was willing to do it. The singers described how they had assimilated the voice production and other elements of the musical expression and style typical of the tradition – such as the stepwise melody construction, form, handling of rhythm and use of grace notes and expletives – from their parents or other close relatives. Although the vocal enculturation of the young Romanies is mainly unconscious and automatic, there is also some intentional music education. The social environment moulds the young singers' concepts of how the voice should sound in order to comply with the aesthetic ideals of Roma singing. In families where parents are recognised as notable singers special attention is paid to the vocal skills of their children.

Many cultural features and practices of the Roma manifest themselves in the performance contexts of dance music. Intersections between the performance practises of dance music and cultural structures can be found, for instance, in the respect for elders and in modesty. A rule requiring the lyrics of the songs should be sensible and honourable guarantees that the singer respects the older people. Another rule refers to the clothing, which is an important cultural sign and norm among Finnish Roma. The singer can not wear the jeans or sing without a jacket because these are not respectful towards the elders.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

## ETHNIC DIMENSIONS

Music unifies a group and separates different groups from each other. It gives a clear sign of difference, being different from the main population. Music also unites Roma people to the majority. The issue of uniqueness of the dance music performed by Roma came out during the interviewees, and it was identified or conceptualized in the way of performance ("melancholic", "emotional", "passionate"), song themes ("reserved lyrics"), and certain music styles (tango, waltz, and popular songs). In performance situations the ethnicity was also emphasised by dressing ("Gypsy style") and by certain popular Roma-theme songs, like *Mustalaisviulu* (Romany Violin) or *Kultaiset korvarenkaat* (Golden Earrings). In 1947 Marlene Dietrich sang this song in the character of a self-fashioned Gypsy. The lyrics of such songs contain the fairly typical "us" versus "them". And we know well, from the film music theory, that the music serves as an emotional repository of the image, and that this is privileged in terms of the meaning of the film.

Like traditional Roma songs contexts, dance music and its performances were basically masculine and stressed the respect for men. An interesting phenomenon is, however, dance music which, like religious music, enables the directing of women's and girls' "inside" music as well as outside the community. Interview descriptions concerning dancing showed that dance music, which is, in general, labelled as masculine, has its culturally respected place also for women. Finnish Roma go dancing a lot and dancing skills are highly valued.

The performers' dressing had an important role in the expression of the ethnic identity – dressing like the "white" majority tells about lost Gypsiness. It is also important to notice that even if Roma women rarely perform as dance singers, they are a visual part of dance halls contexts. The colourful and bright costumes of females give ethnic dimensions also to the artists on stage.

The texts of popular music show how the concepts 'tradition' or 'traditional' touch certain customs and behavioural norms. At the same time they emphasise otherness, the vitality of the culture that differs from the majority population. The Roma artists are aware of the attitude changes of the majority population and that Roma artists can be marketed as a valuable entity of music and culture. Bringing cultural features to the foreground creates secondary meanings to the music. The nostalgia for the freedom of life on the road is the vortex for marketing Roma artists: "It was my destiny to sing", an artist told me. When I asked where the dark singing tone comes from, he answered: "It's because of our life, you see". The message comes down to this: an oppressed minority who express its pain directly in its music: "That is why we like to sing tangos. It is a deep sea of the moods".

As David Malvinni (2004, 212) puts it: "there are many ways of imagining construction of Gypsiness". Gypsiness, however, can be defined as a set of both real and imagined ideas about Roma. Its most common topics are the road, journey, fire, and the outdoors, sensual, natural feeling of the life. Like Franz Liszt much

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

earlier, Finnish Roma singers still describe their musical ability, sound and voice as a dynamic relation between expressive and natural. In this sense we can use the term of micromusics. Mark Slobin (1992) defines micromusics of styles that people create coterminously with super culture. They articulate something different from the dominant style and they consciously construct their difference in music.

Nowadays, Finnish Roma perform and listen to music also as a part of the majority population. Thus, any types of popular singing, including Karaoke, are important parts of the music-culture of Roma.

## REFERENCES

**Aberg**, Kai. 2002. *"Nää laulut kato kertoo meijän elämästä": Tutkimus romanien laulukulttuurista Itä-Suomessa 1990-luvulla* ["These Songs Tell about Our Lives, You See" – A Study on the Singing Culture of the Romanies in Eastern Finland in the 1990s]. Helsinki: Suomen Etnomusikologisen Seuran julkaisuja 8.

– 1998. *Musiikki, sukupuoli ja etnisyys. Maskuliinisuuden kulttuurinen rakentuminen romanien perinnelauluissa ja näiden retorisissa tulkinnoissa* [Music, Gender and Ethnicity. The Construction of Maskulinity in Roma Songs and Rhetoric Interpretations of the Songs]. Kaija Heikki & Jyrki Pöysä (toim.) Elore 2/1998. Suomen Kansantietouden Tutkijain Seura ry. Jns.

– 1999a. *Laulut erottomaton osa arkipäivää. Näkökulmia Suomen romanien perinnelaulustoon ja laulukulttuuriin* [Roma Songs. A Vital Element of Everyday Life: Traditional Songs and the Singing Culture of the Finnsih Roma]. Kulttuurintutkimus 16 (1999):1. Nykykulttuurin tutkimusyksikkö. Jyväskylä.

– 1999b. *Mustalaismusiikki. Suomen mustalaisten eli romanien musiikista* [Gypsy Music: About the Traditional Music of the Finnish Roma]. Aineistoa Monika-monikulttuuriselle kansalaiskanavalle. Monikulttuurinen kanava. www.monika.to/romanimusiikki.htm

– 2000a. *Romanius iskelmän konteksteissa* [Gypsiness in the Context of Finnish Schlager]. Musiikin suunta 1/2000. Suomen etnomusikologinen seura. Helsinki.

– 2000b. *Suomen romanien laulut korostavat yhteisöllisyyttä* [The Songs of the Finnish Roma and Community Feeling]. Hiidenkivi. 5/2000.

– 2003a. *Romanilauluja Itä-Suomesta* [Roma Songs from Eastern Finland]. SKS. Helsinki

– 2003b. "Nää laulut kato kertoo meijän elämästä" – Tutkimus romanien laulukulttuurista 1990-luvulla (Lectio) [A Study on the Singing Culture of the Finnish Roma in the 1990's]. Elore. Suomen kansantietouden Tutkijain Seurary.

– 2004a. *Itäsuomalaiset romaninuoret, laulut ja laulukäsitykset. Näkökulmia romaninuorten paikalliseen laulukulttuuriin* [The Young Romanies, Songs and the Concepts of the Songs: Some Aspects on the Local Singing Culture]. Pekka Suutari & Elina Paukkunen (eds.) *Musiikki., Perinne ja Tutkija.* Etnomusikologista kulttuurintutkimutsa Joensuussa. Kirjallisuuden ja kulttuurin tutkimuksia 12. Joensuu 2004.

– 2004b. *Itäsuomalaiset romaninuoret, Musiikki ja uskonnollisuus – Helluntailaisuuden merkityksiä kulttuuri-identiteetin muotoutumisessa* [The Young Roma from the Eastern Finland, Music and Religion: Pentacostalism and the Construction of the Cultural Identity]. Nuorisotutkimus 2/2004.

– 2004c. *Mustalaislaulut ja lauluorientaatio* [Gypsy Songs and Musical Orientation]. Etnomusikologian vuosikirja 2004. Suomen etnomusikologinen seura. Helsinki.

– 2004d. *Romanilaulut osaksi monikulttuurista kasvatusta* [Roma Songs: Part of the Multicultural Education]. Latso Dives. Romanien koulutusyksikön julkaisema lehti. Opetushallitus.

– 2005a. *Kenttämetodit vähemmistötutkimuksessa* [Fieldwork Methods in Minority Research]. Musiikin suunta 2005. Musiikintutkimuksen symbosium 2004. Helsinki.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

– 2005b. *Romaninuoret, iskelmälaulajuus ja media* [Young Roma People, Dance Music and Media]. Nuorisotutkimus 2005.
– 2006a. *Romanilaulujen musiikilliset piirteet* [Musical Features of the Finnish Roma Songs] (Åberg & Blomster). Teoksessa Suomen romanimusiikki. SKS. Helsinki.
– 2006b. *Romanit ja iskelmälaulajuus* [Dance Music and the Finnish Roma]. Teoksessa Suomen romanien musiikki. SKS. Helsinki.
– 2006c. *Suomen romanien hengellinen musiikki* [The Religious Songs of the Finnish Roma]. Teoksessa Suomen romanien musiikki. SKS. Helsinki.
– 2006d. *Suomen romanilaulujen aiheet* [The Lyrical Motifs of the Finnish Roma Songs]. Teoksessa Åberg & Blomster, Suomen romanien musiikki. SKS. Helsinki
– 2007a. *Romanilaulutapa ja sointi-ihanne. Romanikulttuurin sisäisiä näkökulmia* [Aesthetics of the Traditional Finnsih Roma Songs]. Elore 2/07. Suomen Kansantutkijoiden seurary.
– 2007b. *Suomen romanien "mustalaistanssi" etnografioiden ja romanien kuvaamana* [The "Gypsy Dance" of the Finnish Roma: Some Stereotypes in Earlier Ethnographies]. Kulttuurintutkimus 24/2007: 4. 27-40. Nykykulttuurin tutkimusyksikkö. Jyväskylä.
– 2008. *The Traditional Songs of the Finnish Romany: Silent tradition*. Romani Studies 5, Vol.18,No.1 (2008), 71-92.

**Bennett**, Andy. 2004. *Music, Space and Place*. In Sheila Whiteley & Andy Bennet & Stan Hawkins, eds.*Music, Space and Place: Popular Music and Cultural Identity*. London. Ashgate Publishing Company. 2-7.

**Blacking**, John. 1967. *Venda Children's Songs*. Johannesburg. Witwaterstrand University Press.

**Blomster**, Risto. 2004. *Suomalaisten mustalaislaulujen tyylit. Mustalaismusiikki mielikuvissa, estradeilla ja omissa joukoissa* [The Song Styles of the Finnish Gypsies. Gypsy Music in Stereotypes and among the Gypsies]. Etnomusikologian väitöskirja. Tampereen yliopisto 2004. SKS.

**Hall**, Stuart. 1996. *Introduction: Who needs Identity?* In Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay, eds. *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London. Sage Publications. 1-17.

**Hemetek**, Ursula. 2006. *Applied Ethnomusicology in the Process of the Political Recognition of a Minority: A Case Study of the Austrian Roma*. Yearbook for traditional Music. Volume 38 (2006), 35-57.

**Hood**, Mantle. 1971. *The Ethnomusicologist*. Kent State University Press.

**Jalkanen**, Pekka. 1976. *Suomen mustalaisten musiikista* [The Music of the Finnish Gypsy]. In Laitinen, Heikki and Westerholm Simo, eds. *Paimensoittimista kisällilauluun: Tutkielmia kansanmusiikista* 1. Kaustinen: Kansanmusiikki-instituutti. 202-203.

**Kopsa-Schön**, Tuula. 1996. *Kulttuuri-identiteetin jäljillä: Suomen romanien kulttuuri-identiteetistä 1980-luvun alussa* [Discovering the Cultural Identity: The Cultural Identity of the Finnish Roma at the Beginning of the 1980's]. Helsinki. SKS.

**Kovalcsik**, Katalin. 2003. *The Role of International 'Gypsy Music' in the Development of the Ethnic Music-Culture of the Gypsies in Hungary*. In: Reuer, Bruno, B. ed. *New Countries, Old Sounds? Cultural Identity and Social Change in Southeastern Europe*. Munich. Verlag Sudost deutseches Kulturverk. 75-90.

**Malvinni**, David. 2004. *The Gypsy Caravan: from Real Roma to Imaginary Gypsies in Western Music and Film*. Routledge. New York & London.

**Marian-Bălaşa**, Marin. 2004. *Romany Music and Gypsy Criminality*. Ethnologia Balkanica (Journal for Southeast European Anthropology) vol. 8 (2004), 195-225.

**Markkanen**, Airi. 2003. *Luonnollisesti: Etnografinen tutkimus romaninaisten elämänkulusta* [Naturally – An Ethnographic Research on the Life Course of Romany Women]. Joensuu: Joensuun yliopiston julkaisuja 33.

**Pool**, Robert. 1989. *There must be have something...Interpretations of Illness and misfortune in a Cameron Village*. Amsterdam.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

**Pulma**, Panu. 2006. *Suljetut ovet. Pohjoismaiden romanipolitiikka 1500-luvulta EU-aikaan* [Closed Doors: Nordic Romani Policy from the 16th Century to the EU Era]. Helsinki. SKS.

**Silverman**, Carol. 1996. *Music and Marginality: Roma (Gypsies) of Bulgaria and Macedonia*. In Mark Slobin, ed. *Retuning Culture: Musical Changes in Central and Eastern Europe*, Durham: Duke University Press, 231-254.

**Slavkova**, Magdalena. 2007. *Evangelical Gypsies in Bulgaria: Way of Life and performance of Identity*. Romani Studies, series 5, vol. 17/2007, 205-246.

**Suutari**, Pekka. 2000. *Götajoen jenkka: tanssimusiikki ruotsinsuomalaisen identiteetin rakentajana* [Dance Music in Constructing the Finnish-Swedish Identity]. Suomen etnomusikologisen Seuran julkaisuja 7. ruotsinsuomalaisen arkiston julkaisuja 4.

**Zizka**, Jan. 1991. *A Musical Description of Sedentary Gypsies' Folk Songs*. In *Folk Music of the Sedentary Gypsies of Czechoslovakia*. Eva Davidova & Jan Zizka, eds.. Budapest. Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy for Sciences. 34-41.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

# THE METAPHYSICS OF THE FOLK SONG: ACTUALIZATION OF VIRTUAL FORMS, DISAPPEARANCE OF POTENTIALITIES, AND INVASION OF NOVELTIES

MARIN MARIAN-BĂLAŞA

## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

More often than not, and under almost all traditional conditions, a sung poetic text never looks like a scholarly written poem, as a succession of new and different lines. During the singing, verses are repeated, choruses are periodically intermingled, lyrics are broken and prolonged by vowels and pauses, the whole, which is the Song, acquiring new dimensions and different structures. Structures, or architectural forms, are independent both to (poetic) text and tune, are unpredictable/inconceivable by both lyrics and melody (taken separately), have nothing to do with the conscious intention or representation of the singers themselves, and are spontaneously actualized during the singing. Due to such structuring possibilities, and using only the formal possibilities of the syntagmatic repetition (i.e. the entire verse repetition, and the strophic chorus/refrain), in Romanian traditional/folk singing a single poetic text can (at least theoretically) receive sixty-four architectural arrangements. For establishing the existence of all these architectural versions I have started from observations made by researchers in early 20$^{th}$ century, which noticed that Romanians had the peculiarity of singing the same verse three or four times. Whereas for later decades it was more common that verses to be repeated just once. If we logically establish all possible forms of syntagmatic repetitions we eventually obtain this sum of sixty-four variants, which constitute the equally real and virtual being of each and any folk song (cf. Marian-Bălaşa 2000, 2003). These structures and architectures were very important to the old, traditional aesthetics, and their actualization was essential especially to ceremonial repertories such as the Winter-Solstice-Songs (traditional carols). Later on, by giving up devices such as verse repetition and stanzaic choruses (refrains), and by shortening the time for performing the epic-like songs of the peasant carol, what got lost it was the immaterial aspect of unconscious constructing, the irrational yet effective re-elaboration of time, the abysmal pleasure for implied mathematics. It got lost one of the essences of both sacred and aesthetic experience, which is, experiencing the Virtual, the Potential.

REF/JEF, *2*, p. 209–216, Bucureşti, 2007

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

## FROM AESTHETICS TO METAPHYSICS

(a) Accepting all statements expressed in the above introductory lines as basic grounds for the following discussion, (b) going much further that I went when proposing the approach of art music from metaphysical perspectives (Marian 1991, 1993), as well as (c) continuing a previous, closely related paper of mine (Marian-Bălaşa 2003) – what I will make on these pages can be called an introduction into *speculative ethnomusicology*. To put it short, after analyzing the formal/architectural variety that a melopoetic genre (common to Eastern European folk repertoires) can register, my theoretical bend will enter and reveal zones usually or typically belonging to aesthetics and philosophy proper. To be more exact, this will be an example of *applied metaphysics*. In the process, concepts will be revisited, and new grounds – be they difficult and provoking – for theorizing and understanding will be set.

Before entering the subject proper, let me discriminate between – and in the same time remind the reader about – the dominant scholarly tradition, on the one hand, and on the other hand, the discourse I am proposing now. In folk music studies and ethnomusicology it is generally said that a song is nothing else but an assemblage of music (tune) and text (lyrics). To me, this is just a reductive positivism and empiricism, enjoying a much too long, hegemonic and undeserving history. Inside the Western theory some people call *essentialism* this type of "realism", positivism and empiricism. Essentialism also kindly emphasizes, or rather suggests, the type of reductionism which characterized the communist musicological thinking – a scholarship characterized by the so-called "dialectical materialism". At this point, the Western essentialism is nothing but the Eastern materialism. If in communist states only that factual, materialistic, definitely a reductivist musicology was allowed and available, in Western, pluralist scholarship the essentialist theory is circumventing the reality in the same truncating manner. To the example just given above – the song – and especially to its divisive-analytical interpretation I oppose the thesis that, in fact, a song is composed by three distinct and distinguishable elements. There is, beside the very "material" and "essential" text and tune, a third element, too, which is immaterial, and constitutes *the spiritual foundation of music*. This element is the ultimate purpose and meaning of music. In the socio-cultural realm of music, this is reflected in and expressed through the so called "context" and "function". Materialistic/essentialist musicology and ethnomusicology also spoke at length about (socio-anthropo-cultural) context and function in music. Yet, my claim and discrimination is that context and function are realities which do not cover the whole of the object of music and performing. Therefore, and moreover, there is also another dimension, equally causal, which can be identified and called *the metaphysical realm*. Beyond text, tune, context, usage, function, the immaterial content of music should be conceptualized in an irreducible way. Yet, it requires also to be tackled without

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

sinking the academic discourse back into the fictional, metaphoric or symbolic narratives it departed from. However, it is interesting also the fact that a more encompassing outlook will become capable of integrating/turning that literature into scholarly knowledge.

For the time being (and this is one thing that will appear clearer only later on, during the course of this demonstration), I name this third, crucial element which defines the song and its singing, *the access to – and the manipulation and actualization of – architectural (formal/compositional) structures*. Only that with this aspect we are in the clear field of potentialities. Because, to which final shape or aspect a song will arrive at and wrap itself within in order to live (actualize and circulate), it is not only matter of stylistic, regional, local and individual choice. One has to understand that stylistic, regional, local, individual, and any other features that give particular body to a song are categories that derive from and depend on the subtler action which takes place on an ontological-metaphysical level. *The third, supreme or ultimate element and equally meaning of a folk song is its actualized, achieved corporeal/architectural potentiality*.

## SUPPRESSED POTENTIALITY – DEATH OF THE ENTITY

No one, nowadays, keeps the romantic idea about folk musics and cultures as something monolithic, constant, consistent and homogeneous over centuries. And, in fact, all ways of conceiving of music tend to keep themselves away from a hierarchic, rectilinear and closed system – characterized by a gradual and irreversible accumulation of events and facts. Both musical systems and ideas/theories about music tend to behave like the folk music, in which there is an open, free, less structurable/manageable and predictable flow, with descends and ascents of actions, versions, styles and values, with multivalent identities, hybrid embodiments, and blurred margins, with enduring capacities and change vulnerability. In the following I will give a nonconventional interpretation to the question of the "rise and fall" of musical pieces, musical repertoires, genres, styles, and even entire cultures, based on a phenomenological reduction as well as on a philosophic perspective.

Somehow in contrast to the art music domain, where a musical piece presumably exists in the score format and independently to its various extemporizations, in folk music there is no independent, unique, definitively fixed, static form. Each and every performance, as long as it fits both subjective and social milieus, makes the piece, and all valid actualizations of a piece – both over the history of its existence and the geography of its circulation – constitute the being of that piece. If in art music the very existence of a musical being depends and relies on the written score, in folk music the very existence of a musical entity depends and relies on its performed versions. In art music, versions generated by

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

performances are just (more or less imperceptible) variables, which do not affect the real being of a music work; whereas in folk music the disappearance of variability accounts for the decay of a piece and for the possible advent of its death. Yet, variability and openness constitutes the field of virtual, potential, and the restrain of this field is what induces the ontological threat, the threat to (or lack of) existence.

Let us take the example of human life: neither the disappearance of what the human life actually is nor the disappearance of what the physical body actually possesses – it's what leads to their decrepitude and death. It is the progressive limitation of their virtual chances, the constant and increasing delimitation/separation from what the individual happened not to become, the more or less conscious selection and concentration which exclude other options, the daily choice for something precisely and in spite of (or at the expense of) something else – these are pushing the actual being toward its end. It is not the energy a body possesses that becomes fewer and fewer, but the fact that the body cannot assimilate new energies makes him weaker and weaker. And this body disappears because what is in the potential/virtual is no more available to him. He does not die because of not using what he has, but because of having no more access to what he never had yet, to what he was not (but he could be). The man does not lose the age he was, but that age he did not succeed to be, he loses the years he could have, yet failed to reach.

Things are similar with the folk song. This song has no energy or life in itself. It takes it from the exterior (i.e. from the potentiality), and reaffirms, consecrates, revivifies itself and is reborn each time it is (re)actualized through singing/playing. Its popularity, which means its potential (re)making, is its chance for survival. It takes its identity and life not from a given score, but from the virtual of its possible versions and forms. The more numerous virtual existences, performances and versions it reaches, the richer or longer its life is.

Starting from the premise – a truthful principle set by ethnomusicology – that a song is the sum total of its versions, the entire amount of its open being, as this is rendered by the totality of its countless performances, I have to stress that not only the *actual* forms and versions, obtained during real actualizations of a song, would qualify for constituting the real body or being of that song. My argument is that *potential* (or "virtual") forms also can and should be taken into account; and this even if not as "material" extemporizations but as mathematical identifications, as something that it not only was, but also as something that it could have been or it can be.

Let us remember the difficulty of stopping a folk singer during his/her performance. A peculiarity which can be explained only if one understands and accepts that the song, while sung, has its own "personality", its "will" or need to be achieved, to complete itself. Let us also remember that most carols in East European traditional settings were lasting much longer then they last nowadays. And that – another aspect I already treated (Marian Bălaşa 2000) – the carolers claimed to bring to the carol-receiver not only a projected/desired material

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

prosperity, but even something that in fact motivated and determined that prosperity, and that was nothing else than God himself. But God was only a name, a symbolic idea for talking about the real as both actual/experienced realities and virtual possibilities, material together with spiritual/impalpable entities. And, moreover, all subtle, gnostic and cryptic traditions imagined this God as number, order, proportions, implied mathematics, as all mathematically conceivable entities.

## HOW STRIKING NOVELTIES TAKE OVER

In the field of the Romanian folk song, one of the most obvious realities is that of composing with reiterative elements. In their poetry and music, folks were fond not only of repeating smaller compositional entities but also of expanding this device as far as to repeat inside one single stanza the same melopoetic syntagmas (or lines) once, twice, and, according to what very early folklorists told us, trice. And since a poetic text was not rigidly allotted to one and the same melodic architecture, we can, theoretically at lest, formulate the entire architectural flexibility and availability of that text. For instance, just by formalizing and counting the architectural potentiality of a poetic text to be set on all the main patterns of a stanzaic melody, I arithmetically discovered that any particular text could have sixty-four formal instantiations (see Marian Bălaşa 2000, and 2003). Most of these formal versions of setting a poetic text on folk, traditional music were real, in the sense that old field collections and faithful notations were demonstrating them. Recent transcriptions documented such a form variety less and less. And, actually, they demonstrated the decrease of – or progressively shrunk – appetite for and familiarity with the potential universe of compositional availability. Not long time ago, the carol repertories were a living source of experienced sacredness; but during the last six decades they too joined the funds of just secular, recreational, entertaining and festivalized items, of a more or less artificially reconstructed folkloric/folkloristic culture. Their symbolic "decadence" went hand in hand with the architectural rigidization, consisting in the disappearance of the most numerous architectural variants which were available to the older ways of conceiving of music (which was that of constructing with reiterative melopoetic elements). Today there is no more virtual freedom in computing with those melopoetic units, therefore a disappearance of the constructivist spirit is also characteristic for the dieing out process which characterizes the present.

Both poetic verses and melodic lines are temporal units; and it is beyond doubt that building with temporal units, actualizing temporal units (under the form of melopoetic lines), and thus experiencing with this temporal constructing, this was one of the real – yet metaphysical – reasons of the song and singing. What happened in the last five-eight decades in the real performance of folk songs is that

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

the *combinatorial potential* started to die. Musical traditions are perceived less and less sacred because – speaking in mythological terms – the sense of God died out. Secularization and musealization of folk culture express themselves also through the fact that traditional songs have less and less *architectural potential*, and, prior to vanishing, they register more and more static and simpler compositional forms. The poverty of the *real* is caused by the weakness and damage of the *virtual*. It is the disappearance of that *virtual* (computationally reconstructible) world which endangers the existence of real entities. Moreover, between the real forms of a musical being and those potentialities of its own, a wider and wider gap takes place. And it is this gap which will be filled with novelties, I mean with musical beings coming from outside the genuine tradition, bringing in reformulating influences, disintegrating forms, and new styles and repertoires to be assimilated. A musical culture, and in fact any type and form of culture, opens up itself to strong, completely new, exotic novelties *only* after its virtual – i.e., imaginary/subconsciously creative – capacities pass away. The blank space left is not in the realm of the real (actual), but in the potential. *The lack of virtual objects makes room for actual novelties.*

## BACK TO ANTHROPOLOGY (APPLIED METAPHYSICS)

In order to demonstrate that this metaphysical law acts in all fields of culture I shall give here only two examples. One is that of ethnic minorities in Europe and one is that of linguistic loans and changes. As it is well-known, national purity was one of the most important and constant problems among European nations. The equally immediate and radical answer to this problem was, alas!, ethnic cleansing, transfer or genocide. Dominant nations took the bother of purifying themselves in more or less violent ways, and by eliminating the "natural" diversity they had inside their own territory they never arrived at enjoying an alleged superiority. In the contrary, they faced more radical, dangerous challenges. The lack of inner diversity was quick supplanted by much alien incomings, insertions, infiltrations, affiliations, and influences. There is a space of openness, of real as well as potential diversity, which, unprotected, limited/restricted, or erased, leaves a very sensitive/vulnerable empty space: A space available to whatsoever. Just see the irony with the European peoples, unsatisfied with the presence of Jews and Gypsies inside their own nations, and who must cope now with the fecundating migration of Middle-East and Far-East peoples. Unsympathetic racial discourses are ceasing only because, nowadays, Europeans realize that multiracial or at least multinational cohabitation is unavoidable and somehow necessary. Chasing the diversity at hand brings empty but magnetic spaces: these will be filled with unexpected objects. If not sameness, something else (unpredictable otherness) will surely come, mix, perhaps take over, reason why people should not fight against what is *possible* within. The domestic, internal, "needed", somehow stabilizing, diversity is a sign of achieved potentiality.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Another illustration is served by many modern languages, which "naturally" suffered the influence of more or less neighboring idioms. Yet, in an idealistic/romantic but useless and even counterproductive enthusiasm, some political minds set up for protecting their national languages and called for safeguarding (read purifying) their languages by expelling foreign words or at least protecting them from exogenous influences. Rigid and aseptic languages and speech forms were thus released and imposed. Lacking tones and shades of vital lubricity, they soon became boring or unappealing. And it did not take too long for the opposite process to be observed: coming from the underground of vernacular, living, colloquial speech, fecundated by marginal jargons, those national languages started to look more bizarre than before the antipollution campaign. Let me evoke with more exactness the Romanian only, which is a language of an always proclaimed and protected oldness, as well as Latin "purity" (actually, alleged hegemony), whereas in fact it has always been open to influences. External or co-habiting "enemies" (Slavs, Turks, Hungarians, Russians) have left many marks and linguistic elements in it; apparently influential neighbors (South-Slavs, such as Bulgarians and Serbs) have lent it countless items; "domestic aliens", or inner "others" (Gypsies), have always spiced it effectively. In the 1990s, after decades of ignoring and fighting against the Gypsy identity and influence, the Romanian language becomes at least very permissive, if not very eager to incorporate, however hospitable, to features, expressions and words which come from the most Gypsy, illiterate, porn, and interlope repertoires (see also Leschber 1994, Marian-Bălaşa 2002, 2004). Of course, purist intellectuals will fight against this invading otherness, thus widening the gap between the official, literary and academic language, on the one hand, and the real, spoken language on the other. Yet, real folks do not bother because of this schizophrenia: they enthusiastically accommodate the slang words of the Otherness. The sung poetics of new popular musics in Romania elaborates, develops and demonstrates this fact with ironic brilliance.

To remain in the realm of music, I would give a similar, more striking example, from the same (Romanian) culture. In the 1990s, on the market of the folk music consumption a radically new genre has emerged, and soon it has intensively and extensively conquered this market to an unforeseeable or unimaginable extent: the urban young Gypsies' genre called *manea* (plural, *manele*). This genre has reached an incredibly vast popularity, most of all rural-minded Romanian people cherishing it with passion. The reason has not been only that this both oriental and simplistic style is vivid, magnetic, closer to contemporary themes, issues, interests and fashions, but also that the much too long and saturated period of fakelore, rigid folklorism, and excessive festivalization has killed the capacity of the traditional folklore to grow, develop, vary, perform and exploit its inner potential.

To some extent, this is what John Blacking assumed: "If a shared situation becomes static or formalized, or disintegrates altogether, it follows that creativity

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

will tend to dry up, and it will become increasingly hard for members of a society to adapt to the changes that must result inevitably from the birth, life, and death of its individuals" (Blacking 1995: 107).

Now, coming back from where I started, I would like to stress and summarize by resuming: not only what is sung is important. What is not – or no more – sung (whereas it was or just could have been sung), is equally important. What disappears will not only manifest itself no more, but will also make room for the arrival of something unpredictable. It is the novelty which comes with a wider baggage of potentialities, and whose strength is not so much in the real products which will be transmitted, actualized/materialized, but in the capacity of offering virtual forms. By saying all these I also made clear, I suppose, that the perspective for interpretation I displayed here is capable of opening a fruitful path for unconventional approaches, thus for a larger understanding.

## REFERENCES

**Blacking**, John 1995: *How Musical is Man?* Seattle: University of Washington Press.

**Leschber**, Corinna 1994: *Romani Lexical Items in Colloquial Romanian.* In Yaron Matras (ed.), *Romani in Contact: The History, Structure and Sociology of a Language.* Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, p. 151-176.

**Marian [Bălaşa]**, Marin 1991: *Chipul geniului. Eseu despre creativitatea exemplară* [Genius' Image: Essay on the Exemplary Creativity]. Bucureşti: Editura Muzicală.

**Marian [Bălaşa]**, Marin 1993: *Despre semitonul metafizic* [On the Metaphysical Semitone]. In: 'Revista de Filosofie' (Bucharest) 2: 161-166. This was a shorter version of *Metafizica "minimalismului" enescian* [The Metaphysics of Enescu's "Minimalism"], published in the collective volume *George Enescu şi muzica secolului XX* [George Enescu and the 20th-Century Music], proceedings of the International Musicological Symposium "George Enescu" 1991 (edited by Laura Manolache and Nadia Tozlovan). Bucureşti: Editura Muzicală, 1998: 60-64.

**Marian-Bălaşa**, Marin 2000: *Colinda – epifanie şi sacrament* [The Winter-Solstice-Song – Epiphany and Sacrament]. Bucureşti: Editura Minerva.

**Marian-Bălaşa**, Marin 2002: *Birds in Cages Still Sing Well: An Introduction to the Musical Anthropology of Romanian Jails.* In 'Ethnomusicology' (USA) 2 (46)/2002: 250-264.

**Marian-Bălaşa**, Marin 2003: *The Real Being of the Folk Song: Actual and Virtual Forms.* In: 'Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae' 1-2 (44): 119-126.

**Marian-Bălaşa**, Marin 2004: *Romany Music and Gypsy Criminality.* In 'Ethnologia Balkanica' (Journal for Southeast European Anthropology) 8: 195-225.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

# GIOVEDÌ SANTO E I FUOCHI DEI MORTI (ANALISI DEL CASO: MORFOLOGIA DELL'USANZA IN BANATO)

OTILIA HEDEŞAN

## I DATI DEL PROBLEMA. UN PO' DI BIBLIOGRAFIA

"Giovedì Santo è considerato dai romeni un giorno benefico e a difesa dei morti. Secondo le loro credenze e i loro detti, [...] i morti ritornano ogni anno in questo giorno alle loro vecchie case, dove aspettano fino a sabato, prima delle Pentecoste [...]. Poiché di Giovedì Santo, quando arrivano i morti, non fa così caldo da poterlo trascorrere in ogni luogo, affinché questi non abbiano freddo, è d'uso dappertutto [...] fare la mattina o la sera di questo giorno nel cortile o nell'atrio della casa fuochi per i morti, così che possano riscaldarsi e avere luce" (Marian 1899 [2001]: 190). Con questa frase, Simion Florea Marian, il più zelante raccoglitore e archivista delle usanze romene a cavallo fra i secoli diciannovesimo e ventesimi iniziava la descrizione delle pratiche popolari che si svolgono nei villaggi romeni il giovedì della Settimana Santa (*Săptămâna Mare*). Troppo sommarie per offrire un'immagine fedele delle usanze e delle credenze legate ai fuochi del Giovedì Santo destinati ai morti; troppo generalizzanti, poiché, mentre è molto importante in alcune regioni (Muntenia, Oltenia, Banato), l'usanza è sconosciuta nel resto del territorio abitato dai romeni; eccessivamente esclusiviste per le spiegazioni avanzate[1], che hanno tuttavia il merito di aver collocato i *fuochi*

[1] Nel sistema tradizionale romeno, il giorno del Giovedì Santo comporta molti percorsi rituali principali. In primo luogo, così come indica anche il nome, esso è una componente di un intervallo molto intenso sotto l'aspetto della sacralità cristiana, quella della settimana che anticipa la Pasqua, chiamata in romeno *Săptămâna Mare*. A tal proposito, nella sera del Giovedì Santo, gli uomini partecipano, in numero impressionante, al servizio liturgico (*denie*), assistendo alla lettura dei *Dodici Vangeli (Douăsprezece Evanghelii)*. Durante la messa, tuttavia, e parallelamente a questa, hanno luogo una serie di pratiche popolari che fanno riferimento alla sfera della piccola magia: si fanno dodici nodi ad una correggia – uno durante ogni *Vangelo* – e ciò è un rimedio per la malaria; le ragazze fanno dodici nodi ad una corda e poi, a casa, dormono con quella corda sotto il cuscino e

REF/JEF, *2*, p. 217–235, Bucureşti, 2007

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

*del Giovedì Santo* nell'ambito delle usanze – punto di riferimento non solo per i calendari popolari regionali ma anche in una lista generale delle pratiche tradizionali romene importanti ed interessanti sia nella loro esteriorità che nella loro profondità. Tuttavia, esse non sono state sufficienti per propulsare il soggetto fra quelli attentamente osservati e rigorosamente descritti. Su questo sfondo, l'analisi del caso che propongo, analisi che si focalizza sui *fuochi del Giovedì Santo* destinate ai morti del Banato, presenta poche fonti bibliografiche. Si tratta, in primo luogo, di informazioni molto lacunose abbozzate nei loro scritti, nel corso del XIX secolo, da una serie di piccoli intellettuali locali che iniziarono ad interessarsi, da dilettanti, delle tradizioni popolari. Così, in una vera pagina da manuale (Stoica de Haţeg 1830 [1984]: 151), si riporta: "Il mercoledì prima del Giovedì Santo, i giovanotti e le fanciulle vanno a raccogliere ramoscelli di nocciolo, per cuocere l'indomani le ciambelle". Mezzo secolo più tardi[2], Simion Mangiuca annotava, in modo più coerente e, in ogni caso, in maniera più attenta alle fasi dell'usanza: "Giovedì Santo (*Joimari*): a questo giorno sono legate le seguenti usanze e credenze: a. allestimento dei fuochi (*luminişte*) presso i sepolcri dei defunti della famiglia; b. invocazione e arrivo dei morti della famiglia; c. si versa l'acqua dei morti sul prato; d. distribuzione di quaranta ciambelle ai morti" (Mangiuca 1883: 7).

---

potranno sognare il promesso sposo; le donne accendono ognuna un grano di incenso alla lettura di ogni Vangelo, poi portano a casa i resti che, si crede, proteggeranno la casa dai fulmini, dalle saette e dalla grandine (Marian 1899 [2001]: 200). Nello stesso ingranaggio, quello dei cerimoniali pasquali, si inscrive anche il fatto che, secondo la tradizione, questo è il giorno più adatto per dipingere le uova. In secondo luogo, il Giovedì Santo è un termine simbolico estremamente importante per un'intera suite di lavori domestici, che per lo più riguarda la sfera e le competenze femminili. Per questo, entro tale data, deve essere terminata la pulizia annuale della casa (la casa viene imbiancata, così come, anche, tutti gli alberi del giardino di ciliegio o della strada), e le donne devono terminare di filare tutta la produzione di quell'anno. L'immaginario popolare ha marcato queste tradizioni attraverso un personaggio potente, un piccolo demone che appartiene alla categoria di quelli che fungono da veri guardiani dei lavori tradizionali. Si tratta di *Joimăriţa*, su cui uno dei più prolifici recensori della mitologia tradizionale romena scriveva, all'inizio del ventesimo secolo: "Su *Joimăriţă, Joimariţă* o *Joimăricâ* si crede che [...] sia una donna vecchia e brutta come la morte, spettinata e con i denti ringhiosi, che viene e taglia le dite o frigge le unghie a quelle ragazze pigre che nella notte di Giovedì Santo vengono da lei sorprese con la canapa ancora non filata" (Pamfile 1914 [1997]: 97). In fine, e in terzo luogo, il Giovedì Santo è la soglia del ciclo della vita e della morte, nel senso che in questo giorno hanno luogo, in alcune regioni, brevi ma violenti momenti di rappresentazioni carnevalesche in pubblica piazza di tutto ciò che di riprovevole era accaduto nella comunità nell'ultimo anno (Marian 1899 [2001]: 201 – 204), mentre, sempre in tal giorno, si crede che si aprano le porte dell'aldilà, del regno dei morti, e che le loro anime possano ritornare, come spiriti benigni, nel mondo terreno da questo momento fino alle Pentecoste.

[2] Fra queste due date, su *Joimari* abbiamo riferimenti anche nel celebre libro dei fratelli Schott, *Walachische Maerchen*, tuttavia, per motivi che deliberatamente non considero in questa sede, qui, l'accensione dei fuochi di *Joimari* non viene ricordata, ma si scrive solamente: "Le *jeudi* (*joi*, c'est-à-dire *jovis dies*) est, depuis le Grand Jeudi ou Jeudi Vert jusqu'à Rosalia, la Pentecôte grecque, sanctifié et fêté en l'honneur du dieu de la foudre, Jupiter [...]"(Schott 1845 [1982]: 257).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Appena un altro mezzo secolo, quando lo studio delle tradizioni popolari divenne appannaggio degli specialisti e venne intrapreso anche da una serie di istituti di prestigio (fra cui, in primo luogo si trovava, allora, l'Accademia Romena), sono stati pubblicati anche i primi racconti di contadini che fanno riferimento alla tradizione di accendere fuochi per i morti, il Giovedì Santo; racconti che insinuarono l'idea della varietà strutturale della pratica. Così l'eminente etnologo e dialettologo Emil Petrovici segnalava, solo nel caso dei villaggi di Valea Almăjului, due tipi di simili pratiche. Per prima: "*La Joimari face grămezi micutele şi le-aprinde şi le dă foc. Şi câţi morţi ai, atâtea focuri faci la cimitir şi le dai de pomană mortului. Şi se duc şi duc colaci, muierile, atunci, şi cu lumini*"[3]; e poi: "*La Joimari se face foc... Se scoală de dimineaţă, de la trei, şi se face foc în grădină, pentru morţi. Şi se aduce apă şi se varsă acolo, pe iarbă verde, spre uşurarea morţilor. Şi la cimitir se face foc şi se duc şi lumânări, se tămâiază şi se varsă apă pe mormânt*"[4].

Infine, neanche il periodo postbellico offre molti riferimenti a tal riguardo. Collocata in un giorno essenziale del calendario religioso, la pratica si è sviluppata con discrezione, ricostruendosi e reinventandosi fra l'apparente persecuzione e indifferenza delle autorità[5]. I ricercatori non gli hanno dedicato studi speciali, forse perché un testo che contenga, nel titolo, la parola *Joimari* (o una parola equivalente ed eufemistica della stessa, ma un testo che, con sicurezza, non avrebbe potuto evitare un riferimento alla festa fondamentalmente cristiana della Resurrezione del Salvatore) rischiava di cadere troppo facilmente nelle mani della censura ideologica. Fa da contrappeso a ciò il fatto che, tuttavia, in questo periodo sono stati registrati, per l'Archivio di Folclore dell'Università di Timişoara, dieci ore di descrizioni e discussioni libere sull'usanza[6] e sono state realizzate – anche se in condizioni speciali, solo per argomentare l'importanza di archiviare l'usanza e per quello che si chiamava "il circuito interno", cioè per gli studenti e per la cerchia di specialisti – i suoi primi filmati. Vasile Creţu e Sandu Dragoş hanno filmato, nel

[3] [Di Giovedì Santo si fanno piccoli mucchietti, si accendono e gli si dà fuoco. Si fanno tanti fuochi tanti quanti sono i propri morti al cimitero e si offre un obolo al morto. E le donne si recano al cimitero, portando ciambelle e candele] (Petrovici 1935: 44).

[4] [Il Giovedì Santo si allestiscono i fuochi... Ci si alza il mattino alle tre e si fa il fuoco in giardino, per i morti. E si porta dell'acqua e la si versa là, sul prato, per dar sollievo ai morti. Anche al cimitero si fanno i fuochi e si portano candele, si dà con l'incenso e si versa acqua sulla tomba] (Petrovici 1935: 44).

[5] Nei fatti, il trattamento ufficiale non è mai coinciso con quello privato. A Ciclova Română, per esempio, la moglie del segretario di partito non ha smesso mai di accendere i fuochi per i morti della famiglia „poiché i morti aspettano, signora" e affinché il proprio marito non venisse chiamato a risponderne presso i superiori trovava motivi per farlo allontanare dalla località nella notte rispettiva. Informazione sul terreno: Elena Grozav, 57 anni, registrazione del 27 marzo 1990.

[6] Tutto ciò è stato deposto e viene conservato presso l'Archivio di Folclore dell'Università di Timişoara.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

1971, la pratica, a Mehadica (Creţu, Dragoş 1971)[7]; un decennio più tardi la stessa è stata registrata, da un'altra squadra, a Macovişte (Creţu, Ionică 1983); all'inizio degli anni novanta, da poco arrivata allo stesso archivio, ho deciso, insieme al mio collega, l'antropologo visuale Lucian Ionică di utilizzare l'ultima pellicola di 16 mm che avevamo ancora a disposizione per realizzare un nuovo filmato dei fuochi del Giovedì Santo, ma questa volta, a Ciclova Română (Hedeşan, Ionică 1991)[8].

In conclusione, mi è impossibile non constatare che, nonostante sia stato trattato in maniera piuttosto passeggero, il soggetto dei *fuochi del Giovedì Santo (focurile de Joimari)* dedicati ai morti è uno che può essere documentato (per quanto riguarda la regione che mi interessa) per una profondità di almeno due secoli. È vero che a questo soggetto si sono dedicati – in un modo o in un altro – in modo prioritario gli intellettuali del Banato e, salvo rare eccezioni, ha puntato, ugualmente, ad un pubblico regionale; questo fatto ha contribuito, secondo me, anche alle principali lacune della sua trattazione: l'usanza era troppo nota agli abitanti locali a cui si parlava di essa e troppo estranea per coloro che non erano della regione; nel primo caso, l'implicito culturale escludeva i dettagli, nel secondo caso, per quanto fossero stati forniti molti dettagli, essi risultavano insufficienti per comprendere.

## LA MORFOLOGIA DELL' USANZA ATTUALE

L'osservazione attenta dell'usanza porta a constatare una variabilità strutturale chiara, che si manifesta, tuttavia, senza una delimitazione rigida e a dispetto della sua unità semantica eccezionale[9].

[7] Ecco il riassunto del filmato: "Vengono continuate le riprese del 1968 (*Bradule, brăduţule* [Oh abete, abetello]) e del 1969 (*Soare, soare* [Sole, sole]), realizzate presso la famiglia di Iosâm Gaita, dopo la dipartita di quest'ultimo. Di Giovedì Santo la donna prepara delle ciambelle da dare in offerta. Si reca al cimitero la notte precedente, portando in una bisaccia le ciambelle e le candele, e in mano rametti di nocciolo (che non sono stati poggiati a terra da quando sono stati raccolti) e dà con l'incenso. Quindi porge in offerta le ciambelle sulle tombe" (Hedeşan, Ionică 1998: 145).

[8] Ecco il riassunto del filmato: "Elena Mândroane, di settantanove anni, prepara il mercoledì prima di Pasqua, tutto il necessario per fare, a mezzanotte le *luminişte*. Dopo aver finito i lavori domestici quotidiani (filare, dar da mangiare agli animali), lei raccoglie rametti di noccioli, impasta e cuoce le ciambelle per l'offerta, prepara lo zaino con il quale si recherà al cimitero. Prima di mezzanotte accende nel cortile tre piccoli fuocherelli (*luminişte*), intorno a cui gira tre volte con tizzoni del focolaio di casa (le *meneşte:* li dedica/li consacra ai morti). Parte per la volta del cimitero, dove, vicino alle croci dei defunti di famiglia, accende due *luminişte* e, mentre questi bruciano, gira per tre volte intorno alle tombe, *menind (consacrandoli ai morti)*. Offre per obolo ciambelle ad un bambino e ad un'anziana" (Hedeşan, Ionică 1998: 157).

[9] A tal proposito, anche sovrapponendo la variabilità tipologica dei fuochi di *Joimari* destinati ai morti alla suddivisione spaziale dei diversi tipi di fuochi rituali che sono accesi durante la primavera in Banato, farò notare somiglianze con molte tradizioni primaverili esistenti in Europa, usanze le cui mappe sono praticamente, inspiegabili. In tal senso, Van Gennep scriveva: "Ce «tour de France» permet de tracer une ligne de démarcation relativement nette et dont les enquêtes ultérieures pourront mieux préciser les sinuosités. Elles sont, dans l'état actuel de notre science, encore inexpliquées" (Van Gennep 1943 [1998]: 847).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Il primo tipo strutturale – riscontrato a Mehadica e Ciclova-Română[10] – ha due sequenze principali. Per prima cosa, in piena notte (in un momento che varia in funzione delle convenzioni famigliari, fra mezzanotte e il crepuscolo), la donna più anziana della casa accende in cortile un numero variabile e inspiegato di piccoli fuochi di arbusti secchi o di rametti di nocciolo, chiamati *focurele, joimărele* o *luminişte*. Mentre questi bruciano e illuminano, la donna gli gira intorno in un modo speciale: tiene nella mano destra una pentola piena di tizzoni del focolaio (oggi del fuoco domestico) di casa, sopra cui è messo dell'incenso e che viene mossa, ruotandola da destra verso sinistra; nel contempo, lei consacra (*meneşte*) i fuochi, cioè pronuncia una formula speciale che dedica ai morti della famiglia. Dopo aver ripetuto questo rituale per tre volte, la donna offre come obolo delle ciambelle o – nella variante attuale, cornetti comprati all'alimentare – ai bambini di casa. La seconda fase, immediatamente successiva alla prima, ha luogo nel cimitero, presso le tombe di famiglia. La stessa attante, la donna di casa, accende anche qui un fuoco – uno solo, indifferentemente dal numero di tombe. Benché oggi degli individui mi abbiano rivelato una serie di maniere ingegnose ed efficienti di accendere il fuoco – si utilizzano sia fiammiferi, sia cenere imbevuta di petrolio portata in scatole di conserve, sia piccoli pezzi di caucciù[11] –, la tradizione valorizza positivamente il fuoco che viene acceso con brace portata da casa. Anche in questo contesto, la donna gira intorno alle tombe dei cari e strega i fuochi, poi mette come offerta, sulle tombe, ciambelle e candele.

Il secondo tipo strutturale – attestato a Macovişte e Osnicea[12] – presenta anche esso una bipartizione. Il primo momento si svolge, anche in questo caso, nel cortile di casa, e consiste nell'accendere i fuochi con rametti di nocciolo o di arbusti secchi, seguito dall'offerta di pane. La seconda sequenza non ha più luogo, invece, al cimitero, bensì sulla riva del fiume, dove la donna accende un fuoco ai morti intorno a cui gira con incenso, consacrandolo (*menind*), offre una ciambella fatta proprio per tale occasione, e poi versa dell'acqua (nel fiume) per tutti i morti della stirpe.

Infine, il terzo tipo – riscontrato a Geanova e Gomotarţi[13]– si presenta come un tipo sintetico. Sempre in due fasi, si avvicina al primo tipo per l'identità degli spazi dove hanno luogo le pratiche, a casa, e poi al cimitero. D'altro lato, l'offerta consiste, come nel secondo tipo, in fuoco luminoso, pane e acqua. Benché non si rechino al fiume, le donne prendono acqua fresca dalla fontana – senza che tuttavia esistano prescrizioni speciali in tal senso – che viene poi versata alla radice di un albero del cortile nel primo caso e intorno alle tombe di famiglia nel secondo caso.

[10] Osservazioni sul terreno: Ciclova Română, 1991, Mehadica, 1993.

[11] Informazione sul terreno. Elena Grozav, 59 anni; 23 marzo 1991, Ciclova-Română.

[12] Cf. Creţu, Ionică 1983, rispettivamente Žika Marinković, 47 anni; 27 agosto 1993, Osnicea, Valea Timocului, Serbia.

[13] Informazione sul terreno Mariţa Geambru, 73 anni; 26 agosto 1993, Geanova, Valea Timocului, Serbia e, rispettivamente, osservazioni su terreno a Gomotarţi, Bulgaria, 20 aprile 1995.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

A Geanova, l'acqua è messa in piccoli vasi che vengono poi sistemati intorno ai fuochi del cortile, e il gesto ha un significato molto chiaro: "Facciamo il fuoco, figliola, e mettiamo l'acqua vicino al fuoco, in *trochiţă* (vasi improvvisati ricavati dalle zucche) e si dà in offerta [...] Il Giovedì Santo non si abbandonano questi vasi alle acque del fiume... Perché? Così si dice da noi, così ho da sempre sentito, che con quell'acqua si lavano i piedi i morti"[14].

## I SIGNIFICATI. IL PUNTO DI VISTA INTERNO

La descrizione fedele della pratica di accendere i fuochi nella mattina del Giovedì Santo permette di estimare l'importanza e anche l'eccezionalità dell'usanza. Una intera serie di prescrizioni, restrizioni e interdizioni devono essere conosciute affinché le cose si svolgano non solo *così come si deve,* ma anche – e soprattutto, trattandosi di morti, quindi, di rapporti con il trascendente – così *come si deve ed è bene fare.* Tuttavia, la sola presentazione delle rigorosità ancora inalterate dell'usanza non è in grado di restituire l'importanza pregnante, a volte vitale, che questa ha.

L'osservazione diretta come anche le interviste molto numerose in cui ho abbordato – anche se superficialmente – questo problema mi hanno messo davanti ad alcuni casi estremi, ad un'occhiata superficiale, al limite dell'ilare, ad un secondo sguardo, estremamente eloquente, per il carattere *sine qua non* dello svolgimento di questo piccolo rituale affinché la tranquillità ed anche l'ordine della comunità possano essere preservati.

Nell'anno 1990, nella notte fra il mercoledì e il giovedì della Settimana Santa si è venuta a creare una sovrapposizione apparentemente insignificante di avvenimenti: per le comunità rurali del Banato Montano questa era la notte dell'accensione dei fuochi e, implicitamente, dell'attesa rispettosa del ritorno degli antenati in questo mondo; nel contempo, tuttavia, con tutt'altro palinsesto, nella stessa serata di mercoledì era in programma anche una partita di calcio della nazionale; non una partita qualsiasi, bensì una contro l'Ungheria.

Benché, ad un livello molto generale, le due cose non sembrassero aver assolutamente nulla da fare con l'altro e, di conseguenza, non potevano in alcun modo perturbarsi reciprocamente, in modo concreto gli uomini vennero messi di fronte ad un'opzione senza soluzione. L'idea generale era che non si poteva stabilire una gerarchia delle priorità: non si poteva rinunciare né ai fuochi e né alla visione della partita. Ognuno di questi avvenimenti comportava una certa responsabilità e marcava una certa identità. Aspettare con il fuoco acceso presso le tombe il ritorno degli avi era, sicuramente, un dovere ereditato per linea di parentela ed equivaleva con l'affermazione dell'appartenenza ad una stirpe. Nello

[14] Informazione sul terreno. Mariţa Geambru.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

stesso tempo e nella stessa misura in cui questo rituale era uno tradizionale, per ogni persona che lo portava avanti, esso coincideva con l'accettare che quella stessa persona venisse inscritta all'interno di una lunga catena umana, a continuazione dei predecessori e ad anticipazione dei successori. In tali condizioni la posta in gioco non era solo la buona creanza, ma anche assicurarsi preventivamente un buon trattamento – nel registro sacro – in futuro.

D'altro canto, tuttavia, non si poteva perdere o ignorare neanche la partita. Confrontasi con la squadra dell'Ungheria recava con sé un' intera simbologia nazionale, attivata e attivabile, comunque, in qualsiasi contesto in cui si poteva mettere in scena una simile concorrenza, ma ravvivata, allora, da un intervallo molto breve dai tragici avvenimenti di Târgu Mureş, quando lo stato di tensione fra quelle due comunità scappò dal controllo ed è degenerato, in pochi giorni, in violenze di strada. Essere al fianco della squadra nazionale di calcio, anche se in qualità di semplice spettatore, diventava, in queste condizioni, un vero rituale politico. Schivare l'evento avrebbe significato abbandonare l'altra famiglia, quella dei contemporanei, quella costruita sulla base di alleanze sociali e politiche.

Trovatasi in impaccio, la comunità di Ciclova Română ha adottato una soluzione di crisi, volta a risolvere il dilemma. L'accensione dei fuochi si è svolta il mercoledì, verso sera; poi tutta la gente è entrata in casa per seguire la partita. A mezzanotte meno un quarto, tutte le donne si sono precipitate in strada con le candele accese e si sono dirette di tutta corsa, o quasi, fino al cimitero. Una mezzanotte più che altro simbolica che misurata con il cronometro le ha viste là, con i fuochi accesi. Non erano venute meno a nessuno dei due riti, il che significava, implicitamente, che avevano adempito al dovere di cittadino senza dimenticare di essere le pronipoti delle loro bisavole[15].

Anche se la pratica dell'usanza non implica, sempre, decisioni così drastiche, la sua preminenza viene sempre espressa, spesso anche in modo protocollare. Ad esempio: "Durante tutto l'anno non si fa mai una tale commemorazione, come quella del Giovedì Santo. È la più importante festa per i morti"[16]; "Vedi, questo abbiamo appreso, figliola, e così facciamo! Oggi i morti aspettano con grande gioia, e si dice che al mondo non esista un fuoco come quello del Giovedì Santo"[17].

---

[15] Benché l'esempio qui addotto proviene da una regione diversa da quella investigata, esso esprime con la stessa intensità che sfiora il patetico, l' attaccamento nei confronti di questa tradizione come parte componente di un attaccamento più generale nei confronti dei morti di famiglia. Così, a Trežnjevica, nella Valea Moravei, in Serbia, in una comunità romenofona sulla cui identità si può discutere molto, ma che, con sicurezza, ha conservato pratiche tradizionali dell'Oltenia del XVIII secolo, Milanka Vasiljević (nata nel 1957) ha così motivato la sua impossibilità ad accettare di passare anche lei, insieme all'intera famiglia alla fede dei Testimoni di Geova: "Non potevo cambiare fede, perché avevo la mamma, il papà... Avevo loro e non potevo cambiare. Loro sono morti. E i Testimoni di Geova non fanno commemorazione dei defunti, non accendono i fuochi, non portano offerte ai morti il Giovedì Santo... Ma, vedi, i morti aspettano!!"

[16] Informazione sul terreno. Elena Grozav.

[17] Informazione sul terreno. Donna sconosciuta, circa 70 anni; registrazione nel cimitero di Gomotarţi, Valea Timocului, Bulgaria, durante il rito di *Joimari*; 20 aprile 1995.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Domandando sempre agli abitanti dei villaggi investigati perché facciano tutte queste cose per Giovedì Santo (*Joimari*) ho ottenuto tre categorie di risposte. Nella prima – e questa è la risposta più frequente – le persone hanno motivato il proprio comportamento con la tradizione: "Così abbiamo imparato dagli anziani e per questo rechiamo offerte ai morti"[18]; "Perché? Questo non lo so neanche io, ma così ho appreso, così ho fatto... Ecco, anch'io, adesso ho ottant'anni... E sempre mi ricordo così. Sempre così, di Giovedì Santo, si è fatta questa cosa, perché tutti hanno avuto morti"[19]. In secondo luogo, i soggetti spiegano l'usanza facendo riferimento alla sua efficacia: "I morti aspettano con grande gioia"[20]; "Ho sempre creduto in questo, ci ho creduto molto, a tal punto che ho pensato che posso aiutarli in qualcosa. E basta"[21]. Infine – anche se quest'ultimo caso è molto più raro – la gente tenta di collegare questo momento del culto dei morti di famiglia all'ampio rituale cristiano della Pasqua: „E quest'usanza, come le ho detto, quest'usanza si ha poiché... noi diciamo che alle ore dodici, in quel momento anche i morti tremano nelle tombe, quando hanno catturato... E allora, quando hanno catturato Cristo, si dice che anche i morti dei sepolcri hanno tremato. E noi, ortodossi conserviamo quest'usanza e la notte alle dodici facciamo luce presso la tomba. A mezzanotte giungiamo alla tomba"[22].

In conclusione, a tal riguardo, farò notare che per i membri della comunità che praticano l'accensione dei fuochi nel Giovedì Santo, il valore di questo rituale è indiscutibile. Motivato, semplicemente, in quanto parte della tradizione o spiegata adducendo soluzioni mitiche e rituali costruiti, sulle orme di una mitologia diffusa, da parte di svariata gente volta a problematizzare, quest'usanza è una fondamentale, il cui svolgimento è assolutamente necessario affinché l'ordine del mondo venga mantenuto. Ciò che regola, riguarda le relazioni calorose fra la stirpe dei vivi e la stirpe dei morti di famiglia, fino ad un certo punto; al di là di questo punto, tuttavia, sintetizzando quello che deve essere sintetizzato, riguarda le relazioni molto più generali fra la vita e la morte. Quindi, una volta disegnato questo nuovo contesto, deve essere riconosciuto il valore di regolatore dell'ordine cosmico, volto a marcare i confini e le dimensioni della vita e della morte, nella filigrana dello svolgimento rituale e soprattutto in quello dell'unanime apprezzamento della comunità.

---

[18] Informazione sul terreno. Mariţa Geambru.

[19] Informazione sul terreno. Elena Mândroane, 79 anni; 23 marzo 1991, Ciclova-Română.

[20] Donna sconosciuta di Gomotarţi, 20 aprile 1995.

[21] Informazione sul terreno. Maria Gaita, 53 anni; 18 giugno 1994, Mehadica.

[22] Informazione sul terreno. Lena lu Bihoi, 69 anni; 22 marzo 1991, Ciclova-Română; in linea generale questa spiegazione viene confermata anche da Elena Grozav.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

## ALTRI SIGNIFICATI. IL PUNTO DI VEDERE DELL'ETNOLOGO

Vitali per coloro che vivono nelle comunità tradizionali, i fuochi del Giovedì Santo sono incitanti anche per l'etnologo che li osserva e/o discute su di essi.

La prima osservazione che può essere fatta, da questa posizione, è quella che la pratica del rito così come la sua presentazione in forma narrativo-descrittiva sono appannaggio quasi assoluto delle donne[23]. Questo compito, a volte, viene portato fino agli estremi: anche quando la sola persona di sesso femminile in una famiglia è una bambina che ha superato l'età di dieci anni, a quest'ultima si trasferisce la suddetta responsabilità, anche se, spesso, la bambina svolge l'intero rituale assistita da una vicina o da un'amica di famiglia.

Tutte queste osservazioni mi fanno, in primo luogo, notare l'esclusività della pratica per il fatto che ci si focalizza in modo assoluto sul ruolo femminile e, di seguito, mi fanno rimarcare, per quanto riguarda le comunità da me qui analizzate, una separazione molto rigida dei ruoli rituali. Diviene, così, abbastanza chiaro che, in queste regioni, la donna è colei che gestisce nel modo più efficiente le relazioni di famiglia e, in modo speciale, i rapporti con gli avi. Se si aggiunge, poi, che lo svolgimento dell'intero rituale della nascita così come tutto ciò che riguarda il funerale e i riti post-funerari, la commemorazione degli antenati, insieme ad una serie di piccole pratiche volte ad assicurare la prosperità della casa sono tutti appannaggio della donna, ottengo un'immagine del ruolo sociale (che si realizza in seguito alla somma di più ruoli rituali) orientato verso la sfera famigliare. In altre parole, ciò che non può essere trascurato è che l'esistenza di una famiglia, con tutto ciò che essa presuppone (i membri della famiglia nucleare, le proprietà di questi così come / e soprattutto la lunga catena degli antenati e, teoricamente, l'infinita catena dei discendenti) sono responsabilità assoluta della donna. L'usanza che qui mi interessa è solo un pezzo rappresentativo in questo percorso più generale.

Un secondo commento che può essere addotto dal punto di vista dell'etnologo è quello che fa riferimento al nome tradizionale dell'usanza. Note come *joimărele*, *focurele* ori *luminişte*[24] i fuochi di *Joimari*[25] sembrano rilegati –

[23] Dal 1990 e fino ad oggi, periodo durante il quale ho svolto sistematicamente indagini su terreno (anche) su tale argomento, oppure ho partecipato allo svolgersi del rito dell'accensione dei fuochi, ho visto un solo uomo che metteva in pratica il rituale e questo poiché egli era l'ultimo discendente della stirpe, nella sua famiglia non vi era più nessuna donna.

[24] Faccio notare come eccezione il nome *focu lor*, attestato a Ilova, nella provincia di Caraş-Severin. Nonostante le mie domande supplementari, volte a decifrare chi si debba intendere in luogo di *lor*, quel pronome personale generico, di terza persona plurale, non ha ottenuto alcuna risposta. La mia ipotesi è che *ei* — quelli cui sono destinati i fuochi — non può essere altro che i morti. Ciò che rende, tuttavia, interessante questo nome oscuro per la comunità che l'ha conservato è proprio la inappetenza degli uomini a cercare di dargli una spiegazione. Questo comportamento particolare (in condizioni in cui molte cose, non chiare legate a ciò su cui ho chiesto chiarimenti, sono state spiegate ricorrendo a soluzioni personali e per il momento senza nessuna memoria) mi sembra che riguarda la sfera del *segreto* sostenuto con l'aiuto del tabù linguistico, addomesticato dall'eufemismo.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

anche a causa del loro nome – nel registro dei diminuitivi. La domanda che può essere formulata, in queste condizioni, riguarda i valori che possono essere scorti al di là di questa opzione linguistica quasi generale. Certamente, mettendo questi dati in relazione con l'usanza in sé, il primo valore dei diminutivi è strettamente connotativo: i fuochi accesi in tale occasione sono molto, quindi un nome fedele non può non ignorare questa loro caratteristica. D'altra parte, tuttavia, il diminutivo ha una serie di valori stilistici pregnanti, fra cui la simpatia, l'attaccamento, la tenerezza nei confronti dell'oggetto attraverso il suo utilizzo. In questo caso, la soluzione linguistica di ricorrere al diminutivo deve essere messa in rapporto con un intero immaginario famigliare del funerale, così come esso esiste nella variante romena. Il messaggio nascosto che esso deve trasmettere è quello che il mondo degli avi è guardato con calore e tenerezza. Ciò che ad esso è destinato è circondato da affetto e viene chiamato in maniera affettuosa. In un certo senso, questo trattamento ricorda le relazioni con i bambini e con l'universo infantile e si colloca in un genere di equilibrio in rapporto con quelle relazioni e con quell'universo. Indirettamente, l'idea che cura queste relazioni sembra essere quella dell'equivalenza simbolica di bambini e avi. Trovandosi in una posizione debole e avendo bisogno di protezione (diretta e materiale, o rituale) i discendenti così come i predecessori sono due gruppi che si costituiscono, in massima parte, solo nell'immaginario, mentre sono assenti in modo concreto, o meglio la distanza confortante a cui sono collocati fa in modo che vengano visti e chiamati con infinito amore.

Al di là di quest'aspetto comune, i nomi dei fuochi del Giovedì Santo trasmettono anche un'informazione utile per comprendere la loro posta essenziale. Infatti, derivato da *lumină (luce)*, il termine locale *luminişte* comunica anche il ruolo più importante della pratica, cioè quella di produrre luce. Con parole dei nativi, questo fatto si può spiegare in quanto "i morti vengono e, da quel che io credo, devono vedere i luoghi"[26]. In altre parole, accendere il fuoco ha il significato di facilitare il passaggio delle anime dei morti dall'aldilà al nostro mondo, quindi la luce è solo uno degli ingredienti dello svolgimento del rito di passaggio. In sua assenza, le anime possono smarrire la strada, possono non riuscire a ritornare e, di conseguenza, possono rimanere sospese fra i due mondi, perturbando, da lì, l'ordine della comunità. Modificando ciò che deve essere modificato nell'affermazione di Ignazio Buttitta, descriverò, con parole sue, il ruolo esclusivamente culturale della luce prodotta dai fuochi del Giovedì Santo: „La luce del fuoco serve a illuminare e dunque a combattere il tempo naturale" (Buttitta 2002: 24).

Riprendendo, tuttavia, la lista degli aspetti che possono essere di interesse dell'etnologo che osserva lo svolgersi dell'accensione dei fuochi del Giovedì Santo, aggiungerò a tal riguardo, la questione del materiale di cui sono fatti e,

[25] Bisogna rilevare, ugualmente, che tutte questi nomi locali così come la formula utilizzata nel registro scientifico, fuochi di *Joimari*, sono *pluralia tantum*.

[26] Informazione sul terreno. Ruja Raia, 38 anni, Mehadica, jud. Caraş Severin, 8 settembre 2001.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

successivamente, i significati che ne derivano. E a proposito di ciò, le informazioni sono unanimi: per i fuochi sono necessari rami di arbusti secchi o di nocciolo[27], come si afferma molto spesso, pezzi corti e molto secchi, che prendono fuoco facilmente, per dare molta luce e poco fumo e, per quanto è possibile, scoppiettare. L'analisi di queste prescrizioni interne mi permette di constatare che lo scopo a cui mira la comunità è un fuoco di piccole dimensioni e di breve durata, un fuoco che si consuma con intensità (emanando luce e suono), un fuoco passeggero e frugale come il bagliore di una luce che appare un attimo, lasciandosi dietro un messaggio sulla cui comprensione bisognerà, in seguito, riflettere per lungo tempo.

Così pensato, il fuoco con cui sono accolti i morti deve essere acceso in un modo particolare, rigidamente regolato dalla tradizione. Esso non dovrebbe[28] provenire da una scintilla, ma deve prendere vita per contagio da un qualcosa di rovente. In pratica, nel cortile prima e poi al cimitero o sulla riva del fiume, la donna dovrebbe accendere i fuochi (*focurelele)* senza utilizzare la fiamma libera, bensì solo con l'aiuto di un tizzone del focolare. Per questo, in ogni casa esiste un intero arsenale di oggetti, alcuni – ad esempio le *tămâielnice* (incensieri) di argilla – strettamente specializzati per questo passaggio del fuoco dal focolaio (o, più recentemente, dalla stufa della cucina) a questi fuochi transitori accesi in occasioni speciali, altri trasformati accidentalmente per questo scopo. I tizzoni vengono prelevati, quindi, dal focolaio e portati arroventati e pronti a determinare l'accensione, fino al fuoco del cortile. In seguito, ciò che rimane nel *tămâielnic* è

[27] *Il nocciolo (alunul)* è uno degli alberi con la più completa pletora di simbolismi della cultura tradizionale romena. Vedi, a tal riguardo, ad esempio, i commenti e la bibliografia di Ion Taloş (Taloş 2001: 5 – 6): "Il nocciolo è un albero mitico molto importante. Con i suoi rami le donne possono far sortilegi d'amore e possono placare le tempeste. Chi reca con se un ramo di nocciolo può fare sì che le streghe non possano rubare il latte delle sue mucche, può uccidere serpenti, può trovare tesori nascosti, può impedire che i demoni entrino nella sua casa ecc. Dando a qualcuno un ramo di nocciolo si possono trasmettere molte malattie. Se un alcolizzato beve un infuso di fiori di nocciolo, non potrà più tollerare l'alcool. Le foglie di nocciolo curano i morsi di serpente, mentre le nocciole raccolte da donne nude curano la malaria. L'amuleto portato dentro una nocciola è molto efficiente. In Banato e Oltenia i bambini mettono rametti di nocciolo sulle tombe del cimitero affinché i morti riposino in pace. Sempre con questi rami la Madre del Signore salva la Terra, ad ogni fine d'anno, dalla distruzione, infatti: La Terra è sorretta da un pilastro di ferro che il Diavolo rosicchia continuamente. Alla fine di ogni hanno il lavoro è quasi ultimato, mettendo il pianeta in pericolo. La Santa Maria lo minaccia, allora, con un ramoscello di nocciolo. Il Diavolo smette di rosicchiare, si volge verso Maria, e Lei lancia nel buco fatto dal diavolo ferro fuso, il pilastro riprende la sua forma iniziale e il pianeta ha, di nuovo, tranquillità per un anno".

[28] Dico che *non dovrebbe* e non, semplicemente, *non deve*, poiché negli ultimi decenni si è avuta una duplicazione della pratica: le donne hanno continuato a maneggiare, con sobrietà, i tizzoni presi dal focolaio portati in vasi propriamente destinati a questo tipo di rituale; al contempo, tuttavia, queste non hanno esitato ad avere con sé fiammiferi, se non addirittura svariati dispositivi per accendere il fuoco. Piccoli quadratini di caucciù (dal copertone delle biciclette, soprattutto), ma anche una mescolanza di cenere e petrolio, posti in confezioni dimesse delle conserve, hanno iniziato a sostituire le vecchie *tămâielnice* con la brace. Due serie di oggetti — quelli necessari a costruire il rito e quelli necessari per un effetto materiale immediato — hanno iniziato ad essere compresenti in occasione dell'accensione di questi fuochi.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

ricoperto, saggiamente, con cenere, per essere portato successivamente al cimitero: si mette molta cenere per mantenere il calore della brace, ma non eccessivamente per evitare che si possa spegnere.

Tutte queste brevi sequenze: curare alcuni vasi speciali, la scelta di tizzoni adatti, la loro collocazione nel vaso, l'accenzione dei fuochi usando essi esclusivamente, il trasporto del fuoco per certe distanze come ciò che avviene negli ultimi dieci anni: stimare la difficoltà di questo modo di accendere il fuoco e la scelta di alcune scelte pragmatiche molto più efficienti per il scopo constituiscono i punti forti di una vera scienza del mantenere, del ravvivare, dell'utilizzare il fuoco domesico, scienza che si dimostra, così, altro compito della donna di casa.

Capire i fuochi di *Joimari* nella loro complessità, dalla prospettiva dell'etnologo, che cerco di sviluppare in questa sede, presuppone anche una riflessione sugli spazi in cui l'usanza ha luogo, e dove questi vengono accesi. Presa in modo complementare con la precedente considerazione, riguardante la trasmissione contagiosa del fuoco dal fuoco del focolaio/stufa a quello del cortile e, poi, a quello del cimitero, la pratica può essere letta anche come una successione di atti volta a conquistare lo spazio.

Alla stregua del fuoco, che non si crea di nuovo, e, ancor meglio, così come nel caso dei fuochi vivi, si porta da un punto fisso e centrale, e si aspetta poi che si trasmetta e il suo spazio sembra espandersi lentamente lentamente e soprattutto passo per passo. Da dove, inizialmente, esso si limita all'interno della casa, il fuoco acceso nel cortile produce, immediatamente, la sua dilatazione, affinché, in seguito, dopo lo svolgersi del rito al cimitero, anche questo territorio venga integrato nello spazio domestico in generale.

Quel che è determinante è il fatto che questa respirazione sempre più ampia, sempre più lenta, questo slancio della distensione e della trasmissione delle essenze domestiche in quadri sempre più ampi si sviluppa parallelamente alla credenza che i morti abbiano, in questo momento, una ripresa per cui essi, come signori di questo mondo esterno alla casa ma ad essa contingente, devono essere coinvolti come compagni a questo processo generale di rinnovamento.

Su questo sfondo, il rituale punta a procurarsi la benevolenza dei morti: accanto ai fuochi si pongono pane e, a volte, si offre acqua. Negli ultimi anni, una lunga lista di prodotti industriale ritenuti *de post* (da digiuno, per la quaresima) possono essere offerti, in quest'occasione, per essere poi consumati, analogicamente, per le anime dei morti.

L'importanza di questa funzione ha sviluppato, a volte, pratiche rituali ridondanti di posta, anche se lievemente differenti dal punto di vista formale. I villaggi del sud estremo del Timoc, le comunità più conservatrici della sfera linguistico-etnografica del Banato offrono, a tal proposito, un esempio eloquente. Qui, la seconda fase dei fuochi del *Giovedì Santo* ha luogo al cimitero, sulle tombe di famiglia e nell'immediata vicinanza del banchetto fastoso che si trova permanentemente su di esse. Due serie di alimenti rituali sono volti ad assicurare la

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

gioa, il ringraziamento, la benevolenza e, in modo implicito, anche la protezione. Si tratta, in primo luogo, di alimenti tradizionali di quest'usanza: pane e acqua. Questi sono posti, sobriamente, sul banchetto dei morti, poi dati in offerta ai passanti oppure riportati a casa, dove vengono consumati durante il giorno in modo analogico, per l'anima degli avi. In secondo luogo, tuttavia, si tratta di alcuni piccoli pezzi di frutta – una noce, una mela, un fetta di zucca – che rimangono al cimitero, sul sontuoso banchetto dei morti anche dopo che i membri vivi della famiglia vanno via. Difatti, questi sono alimenti dedicati, direttamente – non solo analogicamente – alle anime stanche e affamate dei bisavoli, sui quali le credenze dicono che ritornino, temporaneamente, nel mondo dei vivi.

Niente eguaglia, tuttavia, il rito verbale della consacrazione di questi fuochi. *consacrazione (menitul)*, così come viene chiamato in una serie di località, sviluppa il senso della pratica e, a causa dell'impressionante elencazione di nomi per cui viene costruito, comunica, sotto sotto, l'idea del potere di un parente che coopta, con questa occasione, accanto ai pochi membri della famiglia nucleare i membri molto numerosi della famiglia in senso largo, che comprende anche i morti. Ecco qui un esempio eloquente a tal riguardo: „– *Doamne primeşte,/ Doamne, binecuvintează/ Luminile astea/ Şi cu colacii ăştia,/ Să-i fie de pomană/ Lu Măria mea/ Şi lu copilu meu!/ Lu Iancu şi lu Filaret/ Şi lu mumă-mea Lena,/ Lu doda şi lu tata,/ Lu maica şi lu Ghiţă/ Şi lu taica Trifoiţă,/ Dumnezău Sfântu/ Să le binecuvinteze/ La sufletele lor/ Lumina/ Şi toată pomana ce se face./ Să-i fie lu soru-mea, lu Florica,/ Lu taica, lu moşu Costa,/ Lu taica lu Iancu/ Cu muierea şi cu copiii lor,/ Să le fie de pomană la toţi./ Lu soacră-mea/ Cu lu socru-meu,/ Cu lu maica Măria,/ Lu moaşa Măgdălina/ Cu lu copilu ei./ Doamne, primeşte-le,/ Doamne, binecuvintează-le,/ Lu taica Şoimu,/ Lu maica Comoane,/ Lu ninea Pavăl,/ Lu Pătru/ Şi lu uica Pătru./ Dumnezău Sfântu/ Să-i împlinească pe toţi/ Să-i pomenească/ Cu toată pomana/ Şi cu toată lumina/ Care s-a făcut./ Doamne, primeşte-le,/ Doamne, veseleşte-i pe toţi*"[29].

La discreta versificazione del testo in romeno ha, di certo, una doppia funzionalità: in primo luogo, la pronuncia, per quanto monotona, impone per costrizioni ritmiche, metriche e melodiche anche, implicitamente, conferisce rigore al rituale; in secondo luogo, la forma fissa è una garanzia mnemotecnica e un rimedio contro la dimenticanza. Una volta messo nella lista rituale di quelli commemorati in diverse occasioni, specie il Giovedì Santo, il morto passa dalla concretezza della vita quotidiana nella memoria famigliare. Il suo ricordo, garantito

[29] [Signore accogli,/ Signore benedici/ queste candele/ e queste ciambelle/ date in offerta/ alla mia Maria/ e a mio figlio!/ a Iancu e a Filaret/ e a mia mamma Lena/ a zio e al papà/ alla mamma e a Ghiţă/ e a papà Trifoiţă,/ Dio Santo/benedici/ le loro anime/ la candela/ e tutto il banchetto che si offre/ A mia sorella, a Florica/ a papà, a zio Costa/ al papà di Iancu/insieme a sua moglie e ai suoi figli/ sia offerta per tutti./ A mia suocera/ e a mio suocero/ e a mamma Măria/ a zia Măgdălina /e a suo figlio./ Signore accoglili,/ Signore benedicili,/ papà Şoimu,/ mamma Comoane,/ zio Pavăl,/ Pătru/ zio Pătru./ Che Iddio Santo/ li accolga tutti/ li ricordi/ e anche l'offerta/ e tutte le candele/ donate./ Signore accoglili,/ Signore, rendi tutti felici] Informazione sul terreno. Elena Mândroane, Ciclova Română.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

dalla riproduzione meccanica di un testo stereotipato, inamovibile, così come nessun pezzo può mancare in un *puzzle* già fatto, evidenzia, ogni volta, come *pars pro toto*, l'esistenza, l'antichità, la grandezza e il potere del famigliare.

Lo spazio e la stirpe si dilatano, quindi. I confini fra i mondi diventano porosi. Il potere del fuoco si trasmette, contagioso, da un centro verso i margini... Sembra un momento in cui tutto è possibile, poiché i riti fermamente rispettati hanno portato ad un capovolgimento delle regole del mondo. Commentando la struttura di profondità di simili ampli rituali, l'eminente storico delle religioni, Mircea Eliade, affermava: „Osserviamo già da adesso che, diffuse quasi universalmente, le credenze secondo le quali i morti ritornano nelle loro famiglie (e ritornano, di solito, come dei *morti-vivi*) intorno all'Anno Nuovo [...] denotano la speranza che l'abolizione del tempo è possibile in quel momento mitico in cui il mondo è annientato e ricreato. Allora i morti potranno ritornare, poiché tutte le barriere fra morti e vivi sono abbattute[30] (il caos primordiale è riattualizzato) e ritorneranno poiché in questo momento paradossale il tempo sarà sospeso e, quindi, essi potranno essere, di nuovo, contemporanei di quelli vivi (Eliade 1969 [1991]: 53).

Ritornando, tuttavia, al punto di vista dell'etnologo, constaterò il potere simbolico irradiante che ha il fuoco in questo rituale. Mediatore fra i vivi e i morti ma anche fra diversi livelli dell'universo[31], il fuoco del Giovedì Santo lega coloro che furono a coloro che verranno, ugualmente con l'aprirsi di una sacralità di fattura arcaica e attraverso gli stimoli morali della partecipazione della pratica volta ad esprimere pienamente l'identità (*cf.* Buttitta 2002: 72).

## IL RITUALE RIPARATORE O QUANDO I MORTI NON RISPETTANO LE REGOLE

Costruendo, sul piano tematico, un rituale dedicato agli antenati, tutti i gesti, gli oggetti, le materie e le parole descritte in precedenza sostengono una pratica essenzialmente benefica. Il fuoco che dà la luce e chiamato/fatto con tenerezza, l'acqua limpida, il pane e le solenni parole fungono in modo parallelo da sorgenti di un mondo armonioso. Sottolineare questa valorizzazione conseguentemente luminosa e benefica dell'usanza è assolutamente essenziale.

[30] Ricordo, velocemente, che il giorno del Giovedì Santo, un giorno di resurrezione dei morti della famiglia, è inquadrato da altre due resurrezioni, molto più celebri e che fanno riferimento, essenzialmente, alla sacralità cristiana: la resurrezione di Lazzaro, il sabato prima delle Palme e la resurrezione di Gesù, a Pasqua. La coerenza e la conseguenza del piano resurrezionale, rintracciabili nelle strutture di resistenza delle usanze di questo periodo si rivelano, così, fattori che si realizzano alternativamente nel registro cristiano/popolare/cristiano.

[31] Vedi, a tal proposito, un commento più ampio di Buttitta (2002: 64): "Il focolare, centro della casa, è il luogo di passaggio per eccellenza, la via attraverso la quale si effettua la circolazione tra i diversi livelli cosmici altrimenti separati".

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Tuttavia, fra i fuochi del Giovedì Santo in Banato si registra anche un'eccezione. Si tratta, anche in questo caso, di altri tipi di fuochi: senza nomi teneri e, per di più, presupposti solo quale diretta causa del *bruciare,* che è chiamato in modo diretto; con altre dimensioni; fatto con altro genere di appercezione generale; che punta ad altri scopi.

Cito, a tal riguardo, un esempio: *„Atuncea în Joimari, până-n Paşti, Joia, înainte de Paşti, când se mere la mormânt, atunci acolo vine un călăreţ cu un cal, da' armig, nejugănit. Vine călări şi mere, după ce s-o-ntunecat, peste mormântu lu ăia care presupun ei că ar fi mormântaţi de-acuma şi ar fi strigoi. Atunci mere peste mormântu lor. Repede calu să sară peste morminte. Atunci calu sare peste unu, sare peste două şi, când o ajuns la ăla care-i strigoi, peste ăla nu mai sare, ţâpă picioarele şi stă-n loc. [...] Şi atunci îi presupus că aclo îi strigoi. Atunci îl dezgroapă, îl scot afară şi-l ard cu spini. Fac foc de spini, pun spini pe foc şi-l pun aclo şi-l ard"*[32].

In altre parole, nello stesso tempo, quando, in piena notte, la famiglia rende onore ai suoi accendendo fuochi nel cimitero, coloro il cui morto sembra non aver pace fanno ciò che bisogna fare per placarlo e ristabilire l'armonia del mondo (Hedeşan 1990: 62–90, passim). Il carattere speciale, principalmente aggressivo e solo nel suo profondo benefico, del fuoco in cui viene bruciato il fantasma viene fuori da due particolari: il primo, se i fuochi usuali della notte di Giovedì Santo vengono accesi da donne, questo, eccezionale e pauroso, viene fatto dagli uomini; poi, se *joimărelele/luminiştele* realizzano uno spazio che media fra la parte dell'al di qua della famiglia e quella dell'aldilà, in quanto si crede che mentre i vivi li accendono e li mantengono, i morti aspettano, vicino ad essi, con grande gioia, quest'altro fuoco affligge il corpo del morto stesso e produce, con un'efficienza massima e definitiva, la sua sparizione materiale dal nostro mondo.

Se ben interpreto questi veri roghi che vengono accesi, nella notte del Giovedì Santo, in alcuni cimiteri del Banato e in alcuni casi chiaramente diagnosticati, secondo le tradizioni locali, devo precisare, così come anche Marianne Mesnil, che: "Simili riti hanno luogo se si manifestano segni di vampirismo nella comunità: se nello stesso periodo si registrano molte morti successive o se si constatano turbamenti che minacciano i raccolti, il bestiame o la fertilità in genere, come, ad esempio, un periodo di siccità o di pioggia prolungata. In simili casi, la sopravvivenza dell'intero villaggio è minacciata e si impongono

[32] [In quel giorno, di Giovedì Santo, fino a Pasqua, il Giovedì, prima di Pasqua, quando si va alle tombe, allora viene un cavaliere con un cavallo, ma uno stallone, non castrato. Viene a cavallo e va, dopo che si è fatto buio, sul sepolcro di coloro che si pensa siano stati sepolti da poco e che siano *strigoi* (vampiri). Allora va sul loro sepolcro. Rapidamente il cavallo salta sulle tombe. Allora il cavallo salta su una, salta su due e, quando arriva da quello che è un vampiro, su quella non salta più, impunta le zampe e si ferma.[...] E allora si suppone che lì c'è un vampiro. Quindi lo disseppelliscono, lo traggono fuori e lo bruciano con dei rovi. Fanno un fuoco di rovi, mettono i rovi sul fuoco, lo mettono lì sopra e lo bruciano] (Hedeşan 1998: 55).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

misure di protezione per porre fine alla situazione anormale. Una volta scoperto «il colpevole», bisogna procedere alla sua eliminazione. Per questo, si aprono i sepolcri, il corpo viene esumato, il che permette di constatarne i segni di vampirismo, soprattutto lo stato di conservazione e «l'area sana» del cadavere, o la posizione anormale del corpo nella bara. Deve, quindi, essere colpito il fantasma proprio nel suo punto vulnerabile, infingendogli un grosso chiodo nel cuore. Questo è l'organo considerato di solito il ricettacolo del principio vitale. O, più precisamente, quest'organo viene prelevato e trasformato in cenere [allorquando non si trasforma in cenere nel cadavere esumato – n.m., O.H.]. (...) La cenere può servire, a sua volta, come rimedio anti-vampiro: mescolata con acqua viene bevuta dai membri di famiglia" (Mesnil, Popova 1997: 133).

In questo ordine di idee, le esumazioni dei cadaveri e, poi, la loro cremazione in vista dell'annichilimento del vampiro, possono essere viste come "un secondo funerale", capovolto ma, per questo, non meno ricco di significati. Così, se lo svolgimento dell'intero cerimoniale di una morte usuale è appannaggio delle donne, in questo secondo caso, la pratica passa alle cure degli uomini; se un funerale qualsiasi ha luogo di giorno, questo, fatto una seconda volta, si svolge di notte; inoltre, ciò che, in modo normale, costituisce un obbligo famigliare, adesso è interesse dell'intera comunità del villaggio; infine, se il primo funerale appartiene al tipo *inumazione,* questo, il secondo, volto a stabilizzare la situazione e a ripristinare l'armonia comunitaria, appartiene al genere della *cremazione*[33].

In questa apertura, secondo cui la polivalenza del simbolismo dei fuochi del Giovedì Santo definisce l'antagonismo, il momento rappresenta una vera e propria festa in cui il mito, resuscitato attraverso il rituale, controlla il contingente: il contatto fra le anime degli avi con quelle dei membri vivi della stirpe è permesso nel contesto definito, tuttavia è permesso solo sulle coordinate delle idee e della fede, di là di ogni mescolanza di materiale fondamentalmente impuro.

---

[33] Vedi un'analisi più dettagliata in Hedeşan 1998: 184: "la cremazione ricorda il sistema usuale del distacco del morto del mondo carpato-danubiano dell'era antica. Benché neanche le cause generali della sostituzione dell'inumazione con la cremazione non possono essere spiegate con certezza, e i ricercatori sono costretti a fare solo ipotesi, tuttavia «il rito della cremazione predomina nettamente nell'epoca tarda dello sviluppo della società daco-getica; l'inumazione si incontra raramente e in quei casi soprattutto per i bambini». Più precisamente, nei suoi contatti con le ondate di migrazioni, la popolazione autoctona si è contraddistinta per il suo attaccamento a questo genere di rituale funerario. Vasile Pârvan scriveva a tal proposito: «Il Tène getico è, dal punto di vista del rito funerario, una continuazione dell'epoca del bronzo IV locale, con la cremazione come regola. La fase sciita, con il suo rito dell'inumazione, non ha esercitato alcuna influenza sul culto dei morti in Dacia. Dall'altra parte, i celti, che avevano sempre il rito dell'inumazione, non lo mantengono in Dacia Se lo abbiano perso prima di giungere da noi, a contatto con i germani, o se si siano adattati una volta giunti da noi, non può essere stabilito con esattezza. Perché, però, nel Danubio medio essi mantennero questo rito fino al III Tène, benchè le circostanze erano le stesse che quelle della Dacia, per quanto riguarda la distanza dalla stirpe germanica e i rapporti con essa, è probabile che i celti siano passati al rito della cremazione una volta giunti dalle nostre parti e proprio lungo il Danubio medio, in primo luogo sotto l'influenza getica»".

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

## AL POSTO DI CONCLUSIONI. O DELINEANDO ALCUNI CONTESTI

Guardati nel loro svolgersi, compresi dal punto di vista del nativo, o analizzati con l'occhio avido di connessioni dell'etnologo, i fuochi del Giovedì Santo possono essere capiti in modo più esatto nel momento in cui vengono collocati in determinati contesti.

Osserverò, così, in primo luogo, che essi occupano una posizione di preminenza nella serie molto lunga e prolissa di giorni che, durante l'anno, sono dedicati, in Banato, alla commemorazione dei morti. Insieme a *Moşii de iarnă*[34] (i Vecchi dell'inverno) e *Moşii de vară*[35] (i Vecchi dell'estate), il Giovedì Santo scandisce un vero calendario regionale dei morti, in cui quasi ogni festa religiosa più importante presenta una fase postfuneraria, ma in cui il periodo di massima intensità è rappresentato da questi tre giorni, calcolati in funzione della data della Pasqua.

In secondo luogo, preciso che *focurelele/joimărelele/luminiştele* non sono i soli fuochi che si accendono, nell'arco dell'anno, in Banato. In una vicinanza temporale variabile (considerato che il giorno del Giovedì Santo slitta nel calendario, in funzione del calcolo pasquale) troviamo i fuochi del 25 marzo, chiamato giorno della Annunciazione (*Bunăvestire*, *Blagoveştenie* o *Blagoveşteană)*. In un altro ordine di idee, nello stesso giorno, ma in altre località, si accendono fuochi impressionanti, che si colloca nell'ambito di un'usanza complessa fino all'antinomia, nota con il nome di *alimori*.

Se i fuochi del Giovedì Santo (*focurelele)* somigliano ai fuochi del giorno della Annunciazione *(Bunăvestire)* per le loro dimensioni modeste, le differenze fra di essi sono molto più significative. Quindi, di Giovedì Santo lo scopo del fuoco è quello di produrre una luce forte ed effimera; per il giorno della Annunciazione *(Bunăvestire),* invece, i fuochi sono solo causa di fumi densi e prolungati. Poi, se *joimărelele* (i fuochi del *Giovedì Santo*) sono dedicati ai morti, che entrano a far parte, così, dei grandi cicli famigliari, i fuochi della *Annunciazione* vengono accesi per la fertilità dei campi, per la prosperità del bestiame e l'integrità fisica degli uomini, riguardando, quindi, il sistema ciclico dell'agricoltura.

In ciò che riguarda i rapporti fra *focurele* e i fuochi di *alimori*, qui le relazioni sono molto più sofisticate. Ad un primo livello, di superficie, deve farsi la distinzione fra il fuoco piccolo, familiare e famigliare, fuoco che fa da mediatore fra gruppi e che viene curato dalle donne, in un caso, e dall'altra parte il fuoco imponente, fatto proprio perchè sia visibile da lontano, il fuoco dell'intera comunità, fuoco curato da ragazzi e uomini e che ha per lo più la funzione di appoggiare la secessione fra gruppi – il gruppo dei ragazzi nella parte superiore del villaggio *versus* quello dei ragazzi della parte bassa; il gruppo di ragazzi che

[34] Festività con data mobile, che ricorre l'ultimo sabato prima dell'inizio del digiuno pasquale.

[35] Festività con data mobile, in corrispondenza della *Pentecoste* o nel primo martedì dopo la *Pentecoste.*

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

accende il fuoco e "grida verso il villaggio" *versus* tutti gli altri, su cui si può gridare; il gruppo di coloro che hanno rispettato le leggi della comunità e che, adesso, sono passati sotto silenzio *versus* coloro che non hanno rispettato queste leggi, quindi contro di essi si griderà durante *alimori* – invece di unire. Certamente, nello stesso senso, è impossibile trascurare la discreta sobrietà con cui si accendono i fuochi del Giovedì Santo, in perfetta discordanza con lo scatenamento carnevalesco che, anno dopo anno, viene provocato da *alimori*. Se tralasciamo, tuttavia, queste scene, così evidentemente opposte, sarà impossibile che non ci faccia riflettere una delle etimologie che gli etnologi romeni hanno proposto per il termine *alimori*, cioè *ad lemures* (Taloş 2001: 5), il che lega la pratica, anche se con nessi abbastanza opacizzati e discutibili, alla sfera del funerale.

Infine, un terzo contesto assolutamente necessario dei fuochi del Giovedì Santo come tradizione postfuneraria e commemorativa è rappresentato dalla idea stessa di giorno dedicato in modo esclusivo ai morti. Uno sguardo, per quanto superficiale, alle usanze romene rileverà una geografia di questa data – funzione. Il giorno dei morti è così: *Joimari* (Giovedì Santo), nel Banato Montano e in Oltenia; *Paştele Mici* (La Pasqua Piccola, la Domenica dopo Pasqua) nel Banato della Pianura, Crişana, Oaş o Maramureş; *Paştele Blajinilor* (La Pasqua dei Buoni), cioè il primo lunedì dopo *Paştele Mici* in Moldavia (compresi Bucovina e Bassarabia). A queste date di riferimento si aggiungono, negli ultimi venticinque anni, il *1 Novembre* in Banato di Pianura, Crişana e Transilvania Settentrionale, cioè laddove i romeni hanno coabitato con i germani o con gli ungheresi cattolici[36].

[36] La novità di questo obbligo festivo fa sì che, per il momento, non esistano, nella bibliografia romena, studi estesi su questo tema. Riprendo, tuttavia, brevi passaggi che indicano l'importanza eccezionale di questo giorno nelle regioni in cui esso esiste in quanto tale: "Nei villaggi della Transilvania, il Giorno dei Morti ha un bel nome: *Luminaţia*. Se fosse per me, metterei *Luminaţia* (*l'Illustrissimo*) fra le Feste Nazionali. Durante le *Luminaţie* si crede che anche i bambini possano capire cosa è la patria, ancor più che nel *Giorno degli Eroi* o del *Giorno Nazionale*. Queste sono astrazioni difficili da concepire per delle menti immature. Ma quanti adulti non hanno di fronte alle astrazioni menti immature? Senza suonar vano, il giorno di *Luminaţie* (*dell'Illustrissimo*) puoi ben dire che la patria è un pezzo di terra che non ti è indifferente. Un pezzo di terra di due metri quadrati che ami e di cui ti vergogni. E più tardi, ne hai paura. Ti è caro perchè vai spesso a vederlo e a pregare su di lui. Ci vai spesso, ma solo con il pensiero. Ne hai vergogna perchè non ci vai di persona, metti fiori con il pensiero e non con la mano. Ma, il giorno di *Luminaţie*, metti tutto da parte e fai una cosa insignificante, un gesto minuscolo: con fiori e candele in mano, sali il sentiero verso il cimitero, con i tuoi figli accanto. Porti anche loro e mostri loro il posto che non ti è indifferente, perchè in seguito sappiano dov'è senza esitazioni. Affinchè non sbaglino, affinchè non esitino con i passi quando saranno soli. Tutto sommato, come alcuni alberi che camminano ma strani e mutilati, come alberi sulle ruote — mi viene da dire — andiamo a far visita alle nostre stesse radici. *Luminaţia è il giorno dell'Illustrissimo Morto. É il giorno degli illustrissimi: del trisavolo e della trisavola, del nonno e della nonna. É il giorno dell'illustrissimo Padre. Il giorno in cui essi escono dalla parte oscurata della memoria e entrano nella luce del pensiero e della rimembranza. Là, vicino alla tomba, la fiamma della candela diventa una lente. Se guardi attraverso essa, vedi il volto di tuo padre. E quello di tua madre. La fiamma della candela è, come diceva un poeta, «un buco nella parete del paradiso». E ci sono tante candele sulle colline che si può ben dire che Luminaţia* è il giorno in cui le pareti del Paradiso che danno verso di noi sono tutte bucherellate. In corrispondenza di ogni buco un volto caro

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Alla luce di questa geografia, i fuochi con la ritualità mettono in moto, con l'ideologia che li mantiene e con la loro specificità – bassamente precristiana/ discretamente religiosa, grazie ad alcune vicinanze temporali che non possono essere ignorate – si costituiscono come usanze atte a suscitare adesioni e riflessioni che riguardano queste opzioni.[37]

## RIFERIMENTI BIBLIOGRAFICI

**Buttitta**, Ignazio E., 2002, *Il fuoco: simbolsimo et pratiche rituali,* Palermo, Sellerio editore.

**Creţu**, Vasile, Dragoş, Sandu, 1971, *Pâinea ceremonială şi cultul strămoşilor* [Il pane cerimoniale e il culto degli antenati], 16 mm, bianco e nero, 7 min, Mehadica, jud. Caraş - Severin, nr. 18 in AFT.

**Creţu**, Vasile, Ionică, Lucian, 1983, *Joimărelele* [I fuochi del Giovedì Santo], 16 mm, bianco e nero, 13 min., Macovişte, Caraş-Severin, nr. 40 in AFT.

**Eliade**, Mircea, 1969 [1991], *Mitul eternei reîntoarceri* [Il mito dell'eterno ritorno], in *Eseuri* [Saggi], traduzione di Maria Ivănescu e Cezar Ivănescu, Bucureşti, Editura Ştiinţifică.

**Hedeşan**, Otilia, 1998, *Şapte eseuri despre strigoi* [Sette saggi sui vampiri], Timişoara, Marineasa.

**Hedeşan**, Otilia, Ionică, Lucian, 1991, *Luminiştele* [I fuochi dei morti], 16 mm, bianco e nero, 10 min., Ciclova-Română, Caraş - Severin, nr. 44 in AFT.

**Hedeşan**, Otilia, Ionică, Lucian, 1998, *Catalogul filmelor etnologice din Arhiva de Folclor a Universităţii din Timişoara* [Catalogo dei film etnologici dell'Archivio del Folclore dell'Università di Timişoara], in „Folclor literar", VIII, (1988–1997), Timişoara, Imprimeria Universităţii.

**Mangiuca**, Simeon, 1883, *Calendar Iulian Gregorian Popolar* [Calendario Giuliano-gregoriano popolare], Oraviţa.

**Marian**, Simion Florea, 1899 [2001], *Sărbătorile la români* [Le feste dei romeni], II, Păresimile, edizione ed introduzione curata da Iordan Datcu, Bucureşti, Grai şi Suflet – Cultura Naţională.

**Mesnil**, Marianne, Popova, Assia, 1997, *Etnologul între şarpe şi balaur, Eseuri de mitologie balcanică*[L'etnologo fra il serpente e il drago, Saggi di mitologia balcanica], prefazione di Paul H. Stahl, traduzione in lingua romena di Ioana Bot e Ana Mihăilescu, Bucureşti, Paideia.

*Micul dicţionar enciclopedic român* [Piccolo dizionario enciclopedico romeno], 1978, Bucureşti, Editura Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică.

**Mureşan**, Ion, 2002, *Luminaţia* [Il giorno dell' illustrissimo], in „Evenimentul Zilei", Edizione della Transilvania, 2 novembre.

**Pamfile**, Tudor, 1914 [1997], *Duşmani şi prieteni ai omului. Mitologie românească* [Nemici e amici dell'uomo. Mitologia romena], in *Mitologie românească* [Mitologia romena], edizione, studio introduttivo e nota sull'edizione a cura di Mihai Alexandru Canciovici, Bucureşti, All.

**Petrovici**, Emil, 1935, *Folklor din Valea Almăjului* [Il folclore di Valea Almăjului], in „Anuarul Arhivei de Folklor", II, Cluj, Academia Română.

**Schott**, Arthur und Albert, 1845 [1982], *Walachische Maerchen* (*Contes roumains*) [Racconti romeni], traduits de l'allemand par Denise Modigliani, Editions G.-P. Paris, Maisonneuve et Larose.

**Stoica** de Haţeg, Nicolae, 1830 [1984], *De însurăciuni, cu nunţile rumânilor împrejurul Mehadii* [Sui matrimoni, con le nozze dei romeni nei dintorni di Mehadii], in *Scrieri, Cronica Mehadiei şi a Băilor Herculane, Poveşti moşăşti, Varia* [Scritti, Cronaca di Mehadii e di Băile Herculane, Racconti degli avi, Varia], edizione realizzata da Damaschin Mioc e Costin Feneşan, Timişoara, Facla.

**Taloş**, Ion, 2001, *Gândirea magico-religioasă la români* [Il pensiero magico-religioso presso i romeni], Bucureşti, Editura Enciclopedică.

**Van Gennep**, Arnold, 1943 [1998], *Le foklore français*, Paris, Robert Laffont.

aspetta che vieni ad incontrarlo. Che vieni al parlatoio — si può dire — perchè non so, e nessuno lo può dire, chi è libero e chi è prigioniero" (Mureşan 2002: 1).

[37] Variante italiana: Maria Luisa Lombardo.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

# RUMÄNISCHE EßKULTUR ZWISCHEN TRADITION UND WANDEL

ALEXANDRU POPESCU

In meinem Beitrag werde ich rumänisches Brauchtum behendeln, in dessen Rahmen traditionelle Nahrungsmittel sowie das Essen und Trinken eine wichtige funktionelle Rolle spielen. Dadurch lassen sich auch Inovationnen und Wandlungaprozesse feststellen, die das dazugehörende Brauchtum in letzten Jahrzehnten beeinflußt und verändert haben. Diese Wandlungsprozesse sind wiederum ein Ergebnis der Veränderungen der wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Lage, des Lebensstils, Änderungen der Mentalität und der religiösen Einstellung sowohl im dorflichen als auch urbanen Bereich.

**Esskultur** umfasst das gesamte kulturelle Umfeld der Ernährung, also beispielsweise Dekoration und Tischsitten, Rituale und Zeremonien, Speisen als Symbole, oder auch regionale Spezialitäten im Laufe der Zeit, die damit auch kulturelle Identifikation darstellen.[1]

Die Eßkultur ist das Forschungsthema nicht nur der Ethnographie/Ethnologie sondern auch der Ernährungssoziologie, die unter anderem auch mit der gesellschaftlichen Komponente von Ernährung beschäftigt. Forschungsfelder sind Unterschiede in den Kulturen, Veränderungen von Essgewohnheiten in der Geschichte und deren Gründe.[2]

Die Bedeutung des Themenbereichs des Eßkultur besteht darin, daß hierbaei stattfindende Änderungen einen Indikator für Strukturänderungen im wirtschaftlichen, sozialen und auch geistigen Leben eine Volkes darstellen. Zur Erforschung dieser Bereiche ist es daher erforderlich, auch im internetionalen Rahmen verschiedene wissenschaflicher Disziplinen heranzuziehen.

---

[1] Gert von Paczensky, Anna Dünnebier, *Kulturgeschichte des Essens und Trinkens*, München: Orbis, 1999; Gunter Hirschfelder, *Europäische Esskultur. Eine Geschichte der Ernährung von der Steinzeit bis heute,* Campus, Frankfurt am Main, 2001; Carlo Petrini, *Slow Food: The Case for Taste (Arts and Traditions of the Table: Perspectives on Culinary History)*, Columbia University Press, 2004.

[2] Eva Barlösius, *Soziologie des Essens. Eine sozial- und kulturwissenschaftliche Einführung in die Ernährungsforschung*, München: Verlag Juventa, 1999.

REF/JEF, 2, p. 237–246, Bucureşti, 2007

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

## CHARAKTERISTIKA DER RUMÄNISCHEN EßKULTUR

Erste Forschung zur rumänischen Eßkultur gehen auf die 1930er Jahre zurück, als sich insbesondere Ärzte im Zuge iuhrer Tätichkeit zur Verbesserung des Lebensniveaus der Bauern mit diesem Bereich zu beschäftigen beganen.[3] Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg schenkten vermehrt auch Historiker und Ethnographen dieser Thematik Beachtung.

Die traditionelle Nahhrungskultur wurde von ihrer wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Entwicklung maßgeblich beeinflußt. Bedingt durch die landwirtschaftliche und klimatische Vielfalt des von Rumänen besiedelten Territoriums waren sowohl die Landwirtschaft als auch die Viehzucht von Bedeutung. Eine wichtige Rolle spelte auch der Anbau von Genüse, Obst und Wein. Diese Vielfalt der Wirtschaftsformen spiegelte sich auch in der Verschiedenheit der traditionellen Ernährung (Nahrungsmittel, Speisen und Getränke) und der Eßkultur wieder.

Obwohl sich im Lauf der Jahrhunderte die Wirtschaftsformen geändert haben, so bleiben grundlegende Konstanten wie die Abhängigkeit der traditionellen Eßkultur von Jahreszeiten und Jahresbrauchtum doch weitgehend gleich. Im Mittelalter aber auch später waren die Bauern hierbei weitgehend autark und produzierten die benötigten Nahrungsmitteln selbst. Mit Ausnahme von gewissen Produkten wie Salz wurde kaum etwas dazugekauft.

Auch im urbanen Bereich, vor allem in den unteren sozialen Schichten, blieb der ländlch/dörflich beinflußte Charekter der Nahrung durch Jahrhunderte hindurch weitgehend erhalten. Innerhalb der oberen sozialen Schichten, vor allem in der Adelsschicht, bei den Bojaren, waren freilich auch aud dem Ausland kommende Einflüsse festzustellen, die unter anderem aus Griechland, der osmanisch beeinflußten Walachei und der Moldau sowie im Falle Transylvaniens und des Banats aus Mitteleuropa stammten.

Hinsichtlich der strukturellen Gliederung der traditionellen Ernährungsformen sei im folgenden auf die Einstellung des Ethnographen Valeriu Butură verwiessen.[4]

1. Nahrungsgrundstoffe inerhalb des ganzen Jahres: Weizen, der vor allem bei Festen im Jahresbrauchtum Verwendung fand. Mais hatte seit dem siebzehnten Jahrhundert insbesondere im der Alltagsnahrungskultur sein wichtiger Platz;

---

[3] I. Claudian, *Alimentaţia poporului român în cadrul antropogeografiei si istoriei economice* [Die Eernährung des rumänischen Volkes im Rahmen der Antropogeographie und der Wirtschaftgeschichte], Bucureşti: Fundaţia pentru Literatură, 1993; G. Benedeto, *Anchetă asupra alimentaţiei ţăranului român din Munţii Apuseni* [Umfrage über die Ernährung der bauern aus dem Westgebirgen], „Clujul medical", XVII/11-12, 1936; M. Enescu, A. Radenschi, *Contribuţii la studiul alimentaţiei ţăranului moldovean, cu observaţii asupra pelagroşilor* [Beiträge zur Studium der Nahrung der moldauischen Bauern], „Revista de igienă socială", VII/9, 1937.

[4] Valer Butură, *Etnografia poporului român. Cultura materială* [Zur Volkskunde des rumänischen Volkes. Materielle Kultur], Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1978, S. 283-286.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

2. saisonbedingte Grundnahrungsmittel wie Fleisch, Gemüse, Milch, Hönig, Eier;
3. nahrungsmittel und Getränke, die im religiösen Brauchtum insgesamt eine Rolle spielen und auf die hier besonders eingegangen werden soll.

## ZUR FUNKTION DER NAHRUNGSMITTEL UND DES ESSENS IN VOLKSBRÄUCHEN UND BEI TRADITIONELLEN FESTEN

Verschiedene Nahrungsmittel spielen in unterschiedenen Formen eine rituelle und traditionelle Rolle in den meisten Volksbräuchen des Kalender-, Arbeits- und Lebenszyklus. Diese wichtige funktionelle Bedeutung läßt sich auf folgende Weise charakterisieren:

1. gemeinsame Festessen mit rituellen und traditionellen Speisen;
2. das Verschenken von Lebensmittel an die Teilnehmer der Braäuche;
3. das Verteilen von solchen Nahrungsmitteln als Andenken an Verstorbene und als Almosen.

Nahrungsmittel besitzen innerhgalb des Volksbrauchtums verschiedene Funktionen:

a. *die magische, rituelle Funktion* ist bei verschiedenen Bräuchen im Kalender- und Arbeitsjahr anzutreffen. So haben manche Nahrungsprodukte beispelsweise im Brauchtum aus der Arbeitswelt die Rolle eines guten Vorzeichens, eines *Omens* mit Bezug auf die Fruchbarkeit bei Tier und Pflanze sowie auch die Gesunheit der Menschen betreffend. Letzten Endes symbolisiert die Fülle an Nahrunsmitteln auch künftigen Wohlstand und Reichtum. Gleiczeitig wird der Verwendung gewisser Nahrungsmittel bei rituellen Handlungen auch eine *apotropäische*, eine Schutzfunktion gegen Gefahren für Mesnsch und Tier und für die Ernte beigemessen.
b. *Die religiöse Funktion* spielt in den meisten Volksbräuchen eine wichtige Rolle, besonders im Totenbrauchtum: Nahrungsmittel finden Verwendung als rituelle Geschenke für die Verstorbenen und werden auch an bestimmten Tagen des Kirchenjahres als Almosen verteilt. Im Lauf des Kirchenjahres ist vor allem das Oster- und Weihnachtsbrausctum von Bedeutung.
c. *Die soziale Funktion* kommt bei Geschenken zu gewissen Zeiten im Jahreslauf oder bei gemeinsamen Festessen, rituellen Mahlzeiten zum Ausdruck. Mit Gaben belohnt werden beispielsweise Personen, die im Rahmen von Weihnachtslieder vortragen oder auch die Helfer bei der Ernte.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

## DIE WICHTIGSTEN NAHRUNGMITTEL, SPEISEN UND GETRÄNKE IM VOLKSBRAUCHTUM UND BEI TRADITIONELLEN FESTEN

Im folgenden werden wir verschiedene Volksbräuche und rituelle Feste behandeln, bei denen die Zubereitung und der Verzehr bestimmter Speisen und Getränke eine Rolle speilen (traditionelle Bezeichnung, Termine, spezyfische Nahrungsmittel, Speisen, Getränke; Funktion; aktuelles Stadiul). Im weiteren soll auf Wandlungsprozesse bei diesen Bräuchen einggegangen werden.[5]

*A. Bräuche im Jahreslauf und Arbeitsbräuchen.*

Frühling:

- *Mucenici* (Märtyrertag) – 9.März, Beginn der Feldarbeit; man ißt „Colacul plugarilor" (der „Ackerskringel") aus dem Weizen der vorigen Ernte; apothropäische Funktion; der Brauch ist verschwunden.
- *Sâmbra oilor, Măsurişul Oilor* („Die Schafevermessung") – Georgstag (23. April): der Beginn der Hirtensaison; im jeden Haus und bei den gemeinsamen Mahlen aß man „die erste Milch", Kringel, Lammfleisch; soziale und apotropäische Funkion für die Gesundheit der Menschen und der Tiere; der Brauch kennt noch eine gewisse Verbreitung.
- *Paparuda* („Regenbeschwörerin"): gemeinsames Mahl; gegen die Dürre; der Brauch ist verschwunden.
- *Lunea păstorilor* („Der Hirtenmontag") – der erste Montag in Osternfasten; man aß Maiskuchen; der Brauch ist verschwunden.
- *Paşte* („Das Osterfest"): bemalten Eier, Kringel, Produkte aus Schwein-und Lammfleisch.
- *Armindeni* (am ersten Mai): man ißt Lammfleisch, man trinkt Rotwein; apotropäische Funktion für die Gesunheit der Menschen.

Sommer:

- *Retezatul stupilor* („die Binnenkorbsschneiden") – *Sfântul Ilie (*Hl. Elias) 20. Juli; man aß Honig und trinkt Honigschnaps; der Brauch, der mit der Imkerei in Zusammenhang stand, ist verschwunden.
- *Legatul viilor* („Weingartenbindung") – Mariä Himmelsfahrt (15. August); man aß Traubenopferkuchen; der Brauch ist verschwunden.

[5] Für allgemeine Informationen zum rumänischen Brauchtum siehe: Alexandru Popescu, *Tradiţii de muncă româneşti în obiceiuri, folclor, artă populară* [Rumänische Arbeitstraditionen im Volksbrauch, in der Folklore und in der Volkskunst], Bucureşti: Editura Enciclopedică, 1986; Mihai Pop, *Obiceiuri tradiţionale româneşti* [Rumänische traditionelle Bräuche], Bucureşti: Editura Univers, 1999; Ion Ghinoiu, *Obiceiuri populare de peste an. Dicţionar* [Volksbräuche während des Jahres], Bucureşti: Editura Fundaţiei Culturale Române, 1997. Für allgemeine Informationen zum Volksbrauch in Verbindung mit der traditionellen Eßkultur sihe Ofelia Văduva, *Actul alimentar – creator de rol şi statut social* [Die Eßkulturhandlung als Schöpfer von Rolle und sozialer Status], „Anuarul Institutlui de Etnografie şi Folclor", 6/1995: 11-116.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

- *Cununa grâului* („Weizenkranz"): Erntebräuche; gemeinsame Mahl für Personen, die bei der Ernte geholfen haben; man aß Speisen aus Weizen; sozialle Funktion; der Brauch ist verschwunden.

Herbst:

- *Cristovul viilor* (der Weingartenernte); man gab Traubenalmosen; der Brauch ist verschwunden.
- *Sf. Dumitru, Sânmedru (*Der Tag des Hl. Demeter) – 25. Oktober; Almosen in Kringeln, Brezeln, Früchte; apotropäische Funktion und in Verbindung mit dem Totenkult
- *Areţi* (zum Ende der Hirtenarbeit) – 8. November; gemeinsame Mahl: „turta berbecilor" (rundes „Schafbockbrot" aus Maismehl); apotropäische Funktion und Versicherung der Kohesion der Arbeitsgruppe; der Brauch ist verschwunden

Winter:

- *Ignat*, (der Tag an dem Schweine geschlachtet wurden) – 29. Dezember; „Schweinalomsen": Scheinfleisch, Wurst, gekochter Weizen – *Crăciunul* (Weihnachtsfeiertage) – 24./25. Dezember; traditionelle Speisen aus Schweinfleisch, man schenkt den Weihnachtliedersänger Kringel (heute Bretzel), „turtă" – rundes Weizenbrot (heute Gugelkopf); die Bräuche gehören dem religiösen Zyklus mit traditionellen apotropäischen Funktionen.
- *Anul Nou* (Silvester) – 31. Dezember / 1. Januar; traditionelle Speisen aus Schweinfleisch (Wurst), Weizen (Kringel), die auch den de Weihnachtliedersänger geschenkt werden; *Omen*-Funktion; die traditionelle Speisen werden heute durch gekauften Produkten (Bretzel, Kuchen, Gugelkopf) erzetzt;
- *Sf. Ion, Sântion* (Hl. Johannes); gemeinsame Frauenmahl: Eier, Fleischgerichte, Getränke
- *Arezanul sau Gurbanul Viilor* (Weingartenfest) – 1. Februar: man trank Wein; apotopäische Funktion, der Brauch ist verschwunde.

Die Analyse des Zyklus des Kalender- und Arbeitsjahres zeigt, daß die meisen Volksbräuche und traditionellen Feste, die mit rituell verwendeten Nahrungsmitteln und Getränken in Verbindung stehen, im Frühling, also zu Beginn des bäuerlichen Jahres, des Ackerbaus und Hirtenwesens stattfinden. Solche Bräuche haben in erster Linie eine apotropäische und Schutzfunktion. Insbesondere das Osterbrauchtum ist ein wichtiger Bestandteil innerhalb der Vielfalt der Frühlingsbräuche. Änliches Brauchtum findet man auch im Herbst, zur Zeit der Ernte, der Weinlese und generell zum Ende des Arbeitsjahres. Eine weitere wichtige Festzeit im Jahreslauf waren die Weihnachtstagen und die mit ihnen verbundenen Bräuche

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

B. Bräuche im Lebenslauf

Geburt

- *Prima scaldă* ("das erste Bad") in dessen Wasser man Weizenähren, Milch, Zucker, Eier legt; apotropäische Funktion: Gesundheit und Lebenserfolg fürs Kind
- *Masa Ursitoarelor* („der Norntisch") auf dem gewisse Nahrungsmittel zu findem sind: Brot, Kringel, Salz, Honig, die die kunftige Qualiteten des Kinds symbolisieren.
- Zu Festtagen (Weihnachten, Ostern) besuchen die Eltern des Kinds die Taufpaten und bringen gewisse Nahrungsmittelsgeschenke: Kringel, Schweinkotelett; soziale, zeremonielle Funktion.

Diese Bräuche sind noch lebendig.

Hochzeit

*Colacul miresei* („der Brautkringel"), der das junge Paar zusammen ißt; *Omen*-Funktion; der Brauch ist noch lebendig.

Totebräuchen : An bestimmten Tagen im Jahreslauf werden besondere Gebäcke „moşii" („die Alten") in verschedenen Formen (Menschen-, Tiergestalt) zum Andenken an die Verstorbenen als Almosen ausgeteilt. Die wichtigsten traditionellen Daten, als Almosen ausgeteilt werden, sind:

- *„Sânpetru de iarnă"* (Hl. Petrus im Winter) – 15. Januar: Milchprodukte, Speisen aus Weizen, Honig
- *Mucenici* („Märtyrer") – 9. März: Teigformen (40 oder 44) genannt „sfinţi" („Heiligen").
- *Înviere* (Aufverstehung): Kringel, Speisen
- *Sânziene* - 23./24. Juni: Erste Früchte
- *Der Thomas Sonntag* (Erster Sonntag nach dem Ostern): Eier, Kringel
- *Ispas* (der sechste Donnertag nach dem Ostern): frischer Schafkäse, Zwiebel, Schnaps
- *Joimari:* Speisen
- *Sânpetru de vară* (der Samstag vor dem Pfingsten): Milch, Speisen, Brot
- *Rusitori* (der siebten/neunten Tag nach Pfingsten): Kringel, Kirschen
- *Sîntilie* (Hl. Elias) - 20. Juli: Fruchte, Brezel, Speisen
- *Moşii Schimbării la faţă* (6. August): Weintraube, Honig
- *Sânmedru* (Hl. Demeter) – 25. Oktober: Kringel, gekochte Weizenkorn
- *Ajunul Crăciunului* (Weihnachtsvorabend) – 24. Dezember: Fastenspeisen, Kringel, Brot
- *Crăciun* (Weihnacht) – 25. Dezember: Schweinspeisen und Produkte aus Weizen.

Es ist zu bemerken, daß die meisten dieser Bräuche sind noch aktuell.

Typisch für die rumänische Volkskultur ist die nach wie vor wichtige Rolle ritueller Lebensmittel und Speisen im Zyklus des Lebenslauf während des Jahres,

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

wobei vor allem das Totenbrauchtum sowohl im dörflichen als auch im urbanen Bereich stark vertreten ist.

Die Analyse der in den letzten Jahrzehnten erfolgten Änderungen im Fest- und Jahresbrauchtum, in dessen Rahmen die rituelle Verwendung von Nahrungsmitteln eine Rolle spielt, zeigt folgendes Bild:

a. Als Folge der Änderungen traditioneller Wirtschaftsformen und durch die Modernisierung der Landwirtschaft sind viele Bräuche aus der Arbeitswelt verschwunden.
b. Der Säkularisierungprozeß hat Bräuche und Riten mit einer ursprunglich magischen Funktion zum allmählichen Verschwinden gebracht.
c. Die noch verwandenen und ausbeübten Volksbrüche und Feste stehen in Zusammenhang mit dem religiösen Kirchenjahr, etwa dem Oster- und Weihnachtszyklus und dem Totengedenken; ähnlich ist noch das Brauchtum um Neujahr, dem die Funktion eines *Omens* und Unterhaltunsfunktion zukommt.

## WANDLUNGSTENDENZEN BEI TRADITIONALLEN NAHRUNGSMITTELN, SPEISEN UND GETRÄNKEN IM FESTBRAUCHTUM

In folgenden werden die wichtigsten Formen von Nahrungsmitteln, Speisen und Getränken im Rahmen der Nahrungs- un Eßkultur behandeln.

Aus *Weizen* werden folgende Nahrungsmittel bzw. Speisen zubereitet: Weizenmehl; ungesäuertes und gesäuertes Brot; Bretzeln; gekochter Weizen; Kuchen aus gekochten Weizenkörnern, Zucker und Nüssen; Gebäcke in anthropomorfer, zoomorpher oder phytomorpher Form im Rahmen des Totenbrauchtums, die sogenannten „moşii"; Osterkuchen.

Dem Weizen kam aufgrund der Bedeutung der Landwirtschaft eine besondere Rolle zu. Die rituelle Bedeutung des Weizens liegt darin, daß er schon lange als Nutzpflanze Verwendung findet und daher ein sehr wichtiges Nahrungsmittel darstellt. Die Wissenschatler, die sich mit der Bedeutung des Weizens beschäftigen, beziehen sich deshalb immer wieder um die Kraft, die im Brot beigemessen wurde. Diese Kraft kommt in einer Reihe von Bräuchen und Riten zum Ausdruck sowie auch in Sprichwörtern. Andererseits wird das Brot als ein sozialer Faktor von großer Bedeutung und die rumänische traditionelle Zivilisation als eine „Brotzivilisation" betrachtet.[6]

[6] Ofelia Văduva, *Repere simbolice în cultura populară – pâinea şi alte modele din aluat* [Symbolische Ziechen in der Volkskultur – das Brot und die aus Teig gebakenen Formen], „Revista de etnografie şi folclor", 1/1981, S. 58, 62; Ofelia Văduva, *Civilizaţia pâinii* [Die Zivilisation des Brotes], „Revista de Etnografie şi Folclor", 5/1993, S. 12; Maria Bocşe, *Grâul – finalitate şi simbol în obiceiurile cu carcater agrar în Valea Barcăului* [Der Weizen: Zweck und Symbol in den Agrarbräuchen des Barcău-Tales], „Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Transilvaniei", IX, 1977, S. 123.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Hierbei sind die verschiedenen Formen der Gebildbrote von Bedeutung, spielen diese doch bei allen Bräuchen eine große Rolle. Manche Wissenschaftler bringen etwa die runde dieser Gebäcke mit dem Sonnekult in Verbindung. Im dörflichen Bereich werden diese Gebildbrote auch heute noch verwendet, alledings stellt man sie vielfach nicht mehr selber her, sondern ersetzt sie vielmehr durch gekaufte Gebäcke (beispielsweise Kringel durch Bretzel). Eine weitere, heute noch anzutreffende Gebäckart sind die „mucenici", die am 9. März, dem Martyrertag, verzehrt und auch verschenkt werden. Im Rahmen des Totenbrauchtums haben sich vor allem bei den Geschenkenbräuchen anläßlich des Gedenkes an Verstorbene im städtischen Bereich Änderungen ergeben. Traditionelle Weizenkuchen werden auch weiterhin zubereitet, sie spielen auch für das religiöse Brauchtum eine Rolle. Andere Speisen, etwa Brot, Gugelhupf oder Stollen werden heute fertig gekauft und nicht mehr selbst zubereitet.

*Fleisch* steht bei den Grundnahrungsmitteln an zweiter Stelle, wobei Schweinfleisch vor allem im Winter, etwa zu Weihnachten, als Sülze oder Wurst gegessen wird. Zu Ostern und allgemein im Frühling steht traditionellerweise Lammfleisch auf dem Speiseplan. Mochte eine Familie auch noch so arm sein, an diesen Feiertagen bemühte sich jeder, ein Fleischgericht auf den Tisch zu bringen.

*Früchte* wurden je nach des Jahreszeit, der Saison, zu bestimmten traditionellen Festtagen verschenkt. Hier ist auf das Gedenken an Verstorbene hinzuweisen. Zu diesem Anlaß schenkte man vor allem Trauben und Kirschen, aber auch gekochte Pflaumen.

*Milchprodukte* (Schaf- und Ziegenkäse) wurden zu bestimmten Terminen im Jahreslauf verschenkt.

*Mais* Speisen aus Maismehl, etwa Brot dienten seltener als Geschenk.

*Gemüse*, vor allem Bohnen, die als Fastenspeise Verwendung finden, haben auch ihren Platz im Jahresbrauchtum.

*Honig* spielte insbesondere bei allen der Imkerei nahestehenden Bräuche eine Rolle.

*Eier* werden ähnlich wie die Gebildbrote verwendet. Sie galten nicht nur al Nahrungsmittel, sondern vielmehr wurden ihnen rituelle Bedeutung beigemessen. Im diesen Zusammenhang stehen auch die gefärbten und mit verschedenen Motiven bemaalten Eier, die zu Ostrern und bei anderen Frühlingsbräuchen Verwendung finden, die man selbst ißt, verschenkt oder bei Bräuchen als etwas „Magisches" verwendet. Diese Bräuche sind bei den Rumänen sowohl im dörflichen als auch im städtischen Milieu bis in die Gegenwart erhalten geblieben. Im Fall der bemalten Eier stellen diese Zeugnisse der rumänichen Volkskunst dar.

*Traditionelle Getränke* Zudiesem zählen unter anderem Rotwein, Most, Met und Schnaps („ţuica").Getränke wie Wein oder Schnaps werden auch heute noch auf dem Dorf hergestellt, und, da sie als traditionelle Getränke sehr beliebt sind, auch in der Stadt verkauft.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Wie diese Beispiele zeigen, haben in den letzten Jahrzehnten vielfach grunlegende Änderungen bei der Verwendung von Nahrungsmitteln und Speisen im Jahres- und Lebensbrauchtum stattgefunden. Bedingt durch soziale und wirtschaftliche Wandlungsprozesse hat sich vielfach das Brauchtum geändert, haben Bräuche ihren zuvor „magischen Charakter" verloren und werden oftmals nicht mehr ausgeübt. Dadurch haben auch viele Nahrungsmittel ihre zuvor „rituelle" Bedeutung verloren. Ein Beispiel für auch weiterhin verwendete Nahrungsmittel und Speisen sind etwa Gebildbrote oder „coliva", Opferkuchen, die aus gekochten Weizenkörnern, Zuckern und Nüssen zubereitet werden sowie auch gefärbte Eier und manche Fleischgerichte. Diese Nahrungsmittel bzw. Speisen werden vor allem im dörflichen Bereich verwendet. Bei den Nahrungsmitteln und Speisen im Kirchenjahr sind Fastenspeisen nach wie vor wichtig.

Ein Wandlungsprozess bei traditionellen Speisen besteht darin, daß diese vielfach nicht mehr daheim zubereitet, sondern durch gekaufte ersetzt werden, so werden beispielsweise Bretzel heite nicht mehr selbst erzeugt, sondern gekauft.

An diesder Stelle soll aber doch darauf hingewiesen werden, daß ungeachtet der Änderungen in Politik, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, durch das kommunistische Totalitarismus auch weiterhin Nahrungsmittel und Speisen in ritueller Art und Weise verwendet wurden und vor allem während der zwei großen religiösen Höhepunkte des Kirchenjahres, des Oster- und Weihnachtsfestes, sowie zu Neujahr, eine wichtige Rolle speilen.

## DIE ROLLE DER KOMPARATIVEN ERFORSCHUNG DER NAHRUNGS- UND EßKULTUR IN DER GEGENWART

Kann man von gemeinsamen Tendenzen, ja einer gemeinsamen Geschichte der Nahrungs- und Eßkultur der Völker in Südosteuropa, im Donauraum sprechen ? Ungeachtet der ethnischen, religiösen und sprachlichen Vielfalt der Völker in diesem Raum sind doch eine Reihe von Gemeinsamkeiten festzustellen, so beispielsweise Ähnilichkeiten bei den traditionellen Wirtschaftformen. Als weiteres Beispiel läßt sich die Zugehörigkeit zu den orthodoxen Kirchen Südosteuropas anführen. Mochte deren Gläubige auch verschiedenen Völkern angehören, so waren doch traditionelle Nahrungsmittel und Speisen, etwa zu den hohen kirchlichen Feiertagen – zu Ostern und zu Weihnachten sowie auch Fastenspeisen – sehr ähnlich.

Die Donau besaß eine große Role für die wechselseitige Beeinflussung verschiedener Kulturen wie etwa im Banat oder, auch außerhalb der eigentlichen Donauregionen, in Siebenbürgen. Zwischen den Völkern, die in diesem Raum leben, den Rumänen, Magyaren, deutschen Ansiedlern und zahlreichen weiteren Gruppen existierte ein Austausch in vielen Lebensbereichen, darunter auch bei der Eßkultur. Der Donau kam aber auch Bedeutung bei der Vermittlung von Nahrungs-

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

un Eßkultur, von Speisen und Getränken aus Mitteleuropa nach Südosteuropa zu. So haben die Rumänen die auf dem Rost gebratene Würste aus Rinfleisch („mici"), sowie den mit Siphon aufgespritzen Wein („G'spritzten" – „spriţ"), aber auch Wiener Schnitzel und andere Gerichte kennengelernt. Nicht vergessen darf man auf die Einfluß auf die Eßkultur, der aus der jahrhundertelangen osmanischen Herrschaft in Südosteuropa herrührt.

Die Donau ist bis im Laufe der Geschichte bis in die Gegenwart forwirkend, ein Mittler zwischen den Kulturen gewesen. Die mittel- und westeuropäische Eßkultur hat sich entlang der Donau nach Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa verbreitet, gleichzeitig gelangen auch Einflüsse aus dem Osten und Südosten donauaufwärts. Zur Erforschung dieser vielfältigen Kulturkontakte ist es notwendig, daß sich verschiedene Wissenschaftdisziplinen – von der Ethnographie/Ethnologie bis zur Soziologie und Wirtschaftsgeschichte – in einer komparativen Perspektive damit beschäftigen. Der Wandel und Austausch im Bereich der Eßkultur macht von Staatsgrenzen nicht Halt, daher ist zur Analyse der komplexen Nahrungskultur Südosteuropas und Europas im Allgemeinen nicht nur Interdiziplinarität erforderlich, sondern vielmehr internationale Kooperation bei der Forschung.[7]

[7] Ein Beispiel solcher wissenschaftlichen Zusammenarbeit stellt die internationale Session *Vom Schwarzwald bis zum Schwarzen Meer. Die Donau als Mittler europäischer Eßkultur*, in Österreich (Stift Melk, 3.-4., Juni 1998) dar, die von dem Institut für Ost- und Südosteuropa in Wien organisiert worden ist.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

# BEGRIFFE DER RUMÄNISCHEN IDENTITÄTSFINDUNG: DAS KOSMISCHE CHRISTENTUM

ILIE MOISE

In einem 1953 verfassten und „Das Schicksal der rumänischen Kultur"[1] betitelten Artikel stellte Mircea Eliade zum erstenmal den grossen Einfluss des geschichtlichen Druckes auf die rumänische Geistigkeit zur Diskussion. Der Autor unterstrich hier, dass die fast tausend Jahre andauernden Barbareneinfälle und die andauernden kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen mit den Türken und Tataren während fünf Jahrhunderten, unter den Bedingungen einer fast vollständigen Isolierung vom restlichen Europa „die Rumänen zwangen ihre schöpferischen Kräfte fast ausschliesslich dem Bereich der Volkskultur zuzuwenden. Bedrängt von den geschichtlichen Ereignissen, ging der Genius der Rumänen in jenen Lebensbereichen auf, die sich dem Druck der Geschichte entziehen konnten: dem Kosmos und seinen Rhythmen (Bewegung). Die Vorfahren der Rumänen waren bereits Christen, bevor sich das rumänische Volk unter den qualvollen Bedingungen geschichtlicher Bedrängung herausbildete. So kommt es, dass die der rumänischen Geistigkeit so eigene Sympathie mit dem All nicht als ein heidnisches Gefühl sondern als eine Form des christlichen liturgischen Geistes in Erscheinung trat. Lange Zeit glaubte man, dass Naturgefühl und der Einklang mit der kosmischen Bewegung eine heidnische Spiritualität verrate. [...] In Wirklichkeit hatte das Urchristentum die Natur geschätzt. [...] Für das Urchristentum, so wie es besonders von den Aposteln des Ostens aufgefasst wurde, war das All die Schöpfung Gottes, und die Bewegung des Kosmos wurde als kosmischer Gottesdienst verstanden.

Indem sie sich geistig der Natur zuwandten, kam es zu keiner Rückkehr zum Heidentum, sondern im Gegenteil, die Rumänen konnten den großartigen Versuch der Christianisierung des Alls, der von den Aposteln begonnen worden war und aus verschiedenen Gründen im Mittelalter in Westeuropa unterbrochen wurde,

[1] Mircea Eliade, *Destinul culturii româneşti* [Die Bestimmung der rumänischen Kultur], în „Profetism românesc" [Rumänisches Prophetentum], I, Bucureşti, Editura Roza Vânturilor, 1990.

REF/JEF, *2*, p. 247–258, Bucureşti, 2007

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

hinüberretten [...] Für das Urchristentum nimmt das All am Göttlichen Drama teil. „so wie die menschliche Seele nach Erlösung dürstet, so seufzt und stöhnt die ganze Natur in Erwartung der Auferstehung Übrigens findet man diese kosmische Liturgie in der rumänischen Volksdichtung."[2] Im Weiteren legt der Religionsphilosoph seine Ansicht über den *Tod* in der Volksballade „Mioritza" und „Meister Manole" [„Miorița", „Meşterul Manole"], dar, die seiner Ansicht nach ein typisches Beispiel des Hand in Hand Gehens zwischen der rumänischen Geistigkeit und der kosmischen Liturgie sind. Eliade schlussfolgert: „In diesen rumänischen Todesmythen kann man eine archaische und zugleich christliche Sichtweise erkennen: der Tod ist das höchste Opfer im Mysterium durch das der Mensch sich vervollkommnet und sein Leben auf eine höhere Stufe des Seins hebt, und das, weil der Tod für die Rumänen, wie auch für andere Kulturen, nicht Auslöschung, ja nicht einmal eine Verminderung des Lebens darstellt, sondern eine neue Daseinsweise, auf einer anderen Ebene die näher zu Gott ist.[...] All das bedeutet, dass die Todesmythen – als Mysterium der Selbstaufgabe gedeutet – noch im Bewusstsein des ganzen rumänischen Volkes lebendig geblieben sind. Das ist nicht ohne Bedeutung. Man weiss, dass die Neudeutung des Todes einer der bedeutungsvollsten „Siege des Christentums ist."[3]

Das Syntagma „kosmisches Christentum", durch das Eliade die Auffassung des rumänischen Volkes über den christlichen Glauben ausdrückte, verwendete er erst 1969 in seinem Buch „Von Zamolxis zu Dschingis-Khan". Für ganz Osteuropa und daher auch für die christliche Auffassung des rumänischen Volkes sind eine Vielzahl von „heidnischen" archaischen religiösen Elementen charakteristisch, die manchmal kaum erst christianisiert waren. „Es geht hier um eine neue für den Südosten Europas typische Religionsübung, die wir *kosmisches Christentum* benannten, weil es einerseits, das christologische Mysterium auf die gesamte Natur projizierte und anderseits die historischen Elemente des Christentums gering achtete und demgegenüber die liturgische Seite der menschlichen Existenz in der Welt betonte."[4]

Das Thema des kosmischen Christentums wird von Eliade in seinem Werk „Geschichte der Religionen und religiösen Ideen"[5] wiederaufgenommen und zwar in einem Kapitel des zweiten Bandes („Einem kosmischen Christentum entgegen" [„Spre un creştinism cosmic"]) und in anderen drei Kapiteln des dritten Bandes („Das Überleben vorchristlicher religiöser Traditionen", „Symbole und Rituale eines kathartischen Tanzes" sowie „Die Hexenjagd und die Kümmernisse der Volksreligion"). In dem ersten der oben angeführten Kapitel zeigt der Autor die

[2] M. Eliade, *Profetism românesc* [Rumänisches Prophetentum], Bucureşti, Editura Roza Vânturilor, 1990, S 146–147.

[3] Daselbst, S 148, 149.

[4] A.a.O. S 246.

[5] Mircea Eliade, *Istoria credinţelor şi ideilor religioase* [Geschichte der religiösen Ideen und Riten], Bucureşti, Editura Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, I (1981), II (1986), III (1980).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Rolle der „Verallgemeinerung" der christlichen Botschaft „durch die Vermittlung der mythologischen Darstellung und einem anderen Assimilationsprozess des vorchristlichen religiösen Erbes. Es sei zuförderst auf die Mehrzahl der angeführten Symbole hingewiesen/die Taufe, der Lebensbaum, das Kreuz in Zusammenhang mit dem Lebensbaum, die Herkunft der als Sakramente dienenden Stoffe- das Öl, das Salböl, der Wein, das Weizenkorn – aus dem Blut des Erlösers / die gewisse, dem Regelzwang des Judaismus oder den Apokryphen entnommene Symbole in ihrer Wirkung verlängern und sogar verstärken.[...] Zusammenfassend kann gesagt werden, dass die christliche mythologische Vorstellungswelt Motive und Szenarien aus der kosmischen Religiosität entnehmen und verstärken, die aber schon vorher eine Deutung im biblischen Zusammenhang erfahren hatten.

Hinzu kam noch die Auslegung der Theologie und des christlichen mythologischen Vorstellungsvermögens, so dass ein Prozess verlängert wurde, der mit der Besitzergreifung Kanaans begonnen hatte."[6] Im Folgenden werden einige Beispiele für das Überleben im Christentum einiger archaischer Traditionen gegeben: die Umwandlung gewisser Götter oder mythologischer Helden in christliche Heilige (zahlreiche drachentötende Götter und Helden von Griechenland bis nach Irland und von Portugal bis zum Ural verwandeln sich alle in denselben Helden: den Heiligen Georg) die Zölle in den mandäischen und manichäischen Schriften, der Bildbereich von der Geburt Christi – der Stern oder die Lichtsäule, die über der Höhle leuchtet, sind dem parthischen Szenario der Geburt des Kosmokrators – Erlösers entlehnt usw. In demselben Kapitel wird auch eine Definition des kosmischen Christentums gegeben, dieselbe wie in dem Werk „Von Zamolxis zu Dschingis-Khan", aber mit folgendem Zusatz: die christliche Folklore inspiriert sich aus mehr oder weniger ketzerischen Quellen und ignoriert manchmal Mythen, Dogmen und Szenarien von großer Wichtigkeit für die Theologie, wie z.B. das Verschwinden der biblischen Kosmogonie aus der europäischen Volkskunst, wobei die im Südosten Europas bekannte Kosmogonie eine dualistische Struktur besitzt.

Im Kapitel „Das Überleben vorchristlicher religiöser Traditionen" erklärt Eliade des Weiteren den Verlauf des Gestaltannehmens des kosmischen Christentums: „Die Bekehrung zum Christentum hat Symbiosen und religiöse Synkretismen nach sich gezogen, die, in vielen Fällen, auf augenfällige Weise die für die agraren und Hirtenkulturen typische Kreativität zeigen. [...] hinzuzufügen wäre noch, dass nach ihrer Verchristlichung, die in einigen Fällen nur oberflächlich war, zahlreiche Volkstraditionen sowie Ortsmythen anerkannt d.h. in die selbe „Heilsgeschichte" aufgenommen und in der Sprache des christlichen Glaubens und der christlichen Mythologie ausgedrückt wurden. So hat z.B. in den Legenden über den Heiligen Elias, Welche die Erinnerung an die Götter des Gewitters überlebt; [...] verschiedene Mythen und die den verschiedenen Göttinnen gewidmeten Kulte

[6] A.a.O., II. Band, S 389, 390.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

wurden in die religiöse Volkskunst um die Heilige Maria eingeschlossen; schließlich wurden zahllose Formen und Varianten des heidnischen Erbes in demselben mythisch-rituellen nur oberflächlich verchristlichten Corpus gebündelt"[7] Der Autor gibt auch noch andere Beispiele, wie z.B. der griechischen Kallikantiari [Monster], dem Ritual der zwölf Tage zwischen Weihnachten und den Heiligen Drei Königen (mit dem Unterbreiten der Weihnachtslieder). Im Kapitel „Symbole und Rituale eines katharischen Tanzes" wird der rumänische Volkstanz der „căluşari" vorgestellt.

Schließlich behandelt Eliade im letzten Kapitel der „Geschichte der Religionen und religiösen Ideen" die Problematik des kosmischen Christentums und weist auf die Art und Weise hin, in der die katholische Kirche die Relikte der heidnischen Kulte und Glaubensüberlieferung behandelt hat: z.B. die peinliche Befragung durch die Inquisition der Anhängerinnen des Kultes der Göttin Diana Herodias und ihre Verurteilung als Täterinnen von *maleficia* satanischen Gehalts oder andererseits die Anprangerung der Benandanti [Hexenmeister] eines geheimen Fruchtbarkeitskults durch die Inquisition als Ausüber der schwarzen Magie. Zu Rumänien übergehend stellt der Autor fest, dass die Orthodoxe Kirche Rumäniens, wie auch die anderen orthodoxen Kirchen keine der Inquisition ähnlichen Einrichtungen besaßen und eine relative Toleranz gegenüber den heidnischen Elementen innerhalb des volkstümlichen Christentums aufwiesen. Er nimmt als Beispiel den lateinischen Begriff „striga", was Zauberin hieß und aus dem im Rumänischen „strigoi" [Gespenst] wurde oder die Umwandlung der Göttin Diana in „sânziana" oder „zâna" [gute Fee].

Seit 1983, als der letzte Band der „Geschichte der Religionen und religiösen Ideen" erschienen war, hat das Studium der religiösen rumänischen Folklore Fortschritte verzeichnet. Es mögen nur die wichtigsten davon genannt werden, die stellvertretend für viele stehen mögen: Ion Ghinoiu „Lumea de aici, de dincolo [Die Welt des Diesseits und die Welt des Jenseits] oder Antoneta Olteanu „Calendarele poporului român" [Die rumänischen Volkskalender]. Sie bezeugen die Auffassung des Christentums durch das rumänische Volk.

Bevor einige Religionspraktiken der Rumänen gezeigt werden, ist die Ausarbeitung einer verwendbaren Definierung des Begriffes „kosmisches Christentum" nötig.

Getrennt voneinander haben die beiden Teile des Begriffes folgende Bedeutungen:

1. Christentum: alle Religionen, die auf der Person und dem Leben Christi fußen.[8] In unserem Fall kann man das orthodoxe Christentum folgendermaßen definieren: der Glaube an einen Dreieinigen Gott bestehend aus Gott, dem Vater, den Schöpfer, aus Gottes eingeborenem

[7] Daselbst, III. Band, S 232.
[8] *Le Petit Larousse*, Paris, 1995.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Sohn, herabgestiegen vom Himmel, geboren von der Jungfrau Maria und gezeugt vom Heiligen Geist, der zum Menschen wurde, der sich für die Sünden der Menschen kreuzigen liess, begraben, am dritten Tage auferstanden von den Toten, aufgefahren gen Himmel, von dannen er kommen wird, zu richten die Lebendigen und die Toten, Gottes ewiges Reich aufrichtend, an den Heiligen Geist, der von Gott, dem Herren ausgeht und aus dem Mund der Propheten sprach[9], die Gemeinde der Heiligen, die durch ihr Leben und ihren Glauben Gott wohlgefällig waren, den Heiligen Geist empfingen und Wunder vollbrachten, die nach ihrem Tode zu den Mittlern zwischen Christus und den Menschen werden; der Glaube, dass nach den Tode, als Folge der jeweiligen Lebensweise, die Seele entweder in den Himmel oder in die Hölle gelangt, der Glaube an die Engel, unsichtbare Wesen, die über die Menschen wachen, an die Teufel, gefallene Engel, die versuchen, die Menschen zu bösen Taten zu bewegen; an die religiösen Handlungen der Geistlichen Diener des Herren, Nachfahren der Apostel, die Gottes Gnade durch das Handauflegen während der Priesterweihe erlangen; an den Reliquienkult und an die Verehrung der Ikonen: an die christliche Moral.

2. kosmisch (von dem griechischen „Kosmos", d.h. „Ordnung"), bezüglich auf Kosmos, Weltall, Weltordnung.[10]

Das „kosmische Christentum" stellt also eine für Südosteuropa typische religiöse Schöpfung dar, eine Form des Christentums, die das christologische Mysterium auf die gesamte Natur ausdehnt und die historischen Elemente des Christentums nicht berücksichtigt, sondern im Gegenteil, die liturgische Seite des menschlichen Lebens betont. Innerhalb dieser Religionsausübung werden für die kosmische Religiosität typische Motive und Szenarien entlehnt und entwickelt. Außerdem werden zahlreiche Volkstraditionen und Ortsmythen sanktioniert und der „Heilsgeschichte" integriert und in derselben Sprache des Glaubens und der christlichen Mythologie wiedergegeben. Die für das kosmische Christentum spezifischen Riten, die auf mythischen und magischen Glaubensäußerungen fußen, werden nicht ausschließlich von Popen zelebriert, sondern können auch von Laien ausgeübt werden, wenn diese die Bedingungen, die für die einzelnen Riten gefordert werden, jeweils erfüllen.

Zu einem besseren Verständnis dieses Begriffes von Eliade, der berühmt wurde, mögen noch einige Informationen über die Christianisierung der dakisch-römischen Bevölkerung vorangeschickt werden. So schrieb der Historiker Ion Horaţiu Crişan, der das Fehlen von Dokumenten bezüglich der von den Dakern ausgeübten Religion beglaubigte und der sich in seinem Forschungen auf Mircea Eliade stützte, Folgendes: „Sie [die Religion – Hinweis von Ilie Moise] hat, wie auch in anderen Provinzen des Römischen Reiches in mehr oder weniger

[9] Siehe das orthodoxe Glaubensbekenntnis.

[10] *Le Petit Larousse*, Paris, 1995.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

umgewandelter Form nicht nur den Prozess der Romanisierung, sondern sogar jenen der Christianisierung überlebt. Ein Beispiel dafür sind die zahlreichen getisch-dakischen oder dakisch-römischen heidnischen Elemente die im rumänischen Volksglauben vorhanden sind."[11] Als einzigen Ausweg aus diesem Dilemma sieht der Autor „den Schatz der rumänischen Volksgeistigkeit (die Rumänen sind die einzigen Nachfahren der Geten-Daker), denn es gilt, aus einer sekundären in eine primäre Quelle bei der Erforschung der Religion unserer Vorfahren heranzuziehen."[12] Eliade war tatsächlich der Erste, der auf die Bewahrung unter verschiedenen Formen der antiken Religionen hinwies.

Sicherlich hat sich, wie das auch bei den Slawen und den Balten bzw. den alten Germanen und den Nachfahren der Kelten der Fall war, das religiöse Erbe der Traken, mit einigen unumgänglichen Änderungen, in den Volksbräuchen und der Folklore der Balkanvölker und der Rumänen bewahrt.[13] In dem Vorwort des Buches „Von Zamolxis zu Dschingis-Khan" geht Eliade allerdings ins Detail: „Wenn wir von Kontinuität sprechen wollen, müssen wir in der Zeit weiter zurück gehen als bis zu der Geschichte der Geto-Daker, der dakisch-römischen Bevölkerung und ihrer Nachkommen, den Rumänen. Weil beispielsweise der Kult des Zamolxis, ebenso wie die Mythen, Symbole und Riten, die der Folklore der Rumänen zugrunde liegen, ihre Wurzeln in einer Welt geistiger Werte haben, die älter ist als die Kulturen aus der Zeit der Antike im Vorderen Orient und dem Mittelmeerraum."[14] Auf diese Weise kann man sagen, dass die Daker iherseits die Erben einer bis in das Neolithikum zurückreichenden Zivilisation waren, die den Zeitläufen der Geschichte bis in unsere Tage hinein getrotzt hat. Sicherlich "lebt keine religiöse Tradition ewig, ohne Veränderungen zu erfahren, sei es durch Neuschöpfungen, sei es durch Entlehnungen, Symbiose oder Eliminierungen, durch verschiedene Kontakte mit anderen Völkern und Glaubensrichtungen.[...] Die dakische Mythologie wurde von der römischen überlagert, aber nicht ganz und nicht endgültig, weil sie sich in die Gebirge und Hochebenen zurückziehen konnte. Noch dem Rückzug der römischen Legionen und Verwaltung entstand eine neue Folklore, man griff aber schrittweise auf die alten dakischen Überlieferungen zurück, allerdings in abgeänderter Form, d.h. römische Riten und Mythen, die von den Dakern angenommen worden waren. Die Bevölkerung war nun der von der römischen Verwaltung geforderten Religionsausübung ledig, so dass die mythischen dakischen Relikte die Freiheit des Ausdrucks wiedergewonnen, allerdings in einer neuen Zusammensetzung, die auch römische mythische Elemente enthielt, die von den romanisierten Dakern angenommen worden waren.

[11] I.H. Crişan, *Burebista şi epoca sa* [Burebista und seine Zeit], Bucureşti, Editura Enciclopedică Română, 1975, S 45.

[12] A.a.O. S 447

[13] Mircea Eliade, *Istoria ideilor şi credinţelor religioase* [Geschichte der religiösen Ideen und Riten], Band II S 169.

[14] Mircea Eliade, a.a.O. S 7

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Diese Wiedergeburt der Mythen ist nichts anderes als dakisch-römische Mythologie, deren Inhalt dakisch und deren Form hauptsächlich römisch war."[15] Dieses sind klare Darlegungen, die den Prozess der Christianisierung der dakisch-römischen Bevölkerung treffend umreißen.

Es ist eine von allen akzeptierte Tatsache, dass die Herausbildung des rumänischen Volkes vor einem christlichen Hintergrund geschah. Der Prozess des Übertritts der Bevölkerung aus dem Gebiet zwischen den Karpaten, der Donau und dem Schwarzen Meer zum Christentum verlief nach 106 christlicher Zeitrechnung parallel zur Romanisierung der Geten-Daker, allerdings viel langsamer als diese (C. und D. Giurescu setzen für die Romanisierung zwei bis drei Generationen an). Mehr noch, die Historiker sind sich darüber einig, dass durch die Umwandlung Daziens in eine römische Provinz die Verbreitung des Christentums hier erleichtert und begünstigt wurde. „Die Kolonisierung dieses Territoriums wurde von Menschen aus den Römischen Imperium durchgeführt, aber die Meisten von ihnen kamen aus Kleinasien und der Balkanhalbinsel, wo es zahlreiche schon vom Apostel Paulus und seinem Schüler Titus gegründete christliche Gemeinden gab. Es ist schwer möglich, dass unter den Siedlern aus diesen Gebieten nicht auch getaufte Christen waren."[16] Außer diesen Siedlern förderten den Christianisierungsprozess auch die römischen Legionen (die V-te „Macedonica", die aus Palästina zwischen 167–168 n.Ch. her verlegt wurde und die V. Kohorte der III. Legion „Gemina", die nach 106 n. Ch. in Apulum stationiert wurde). Sicherlich trugen die sich erweiternden Handelsbeziehungen zwischen den römischen Städten Daziens und dem übrigen Imperium auch dazu bei.

Die Schnelligkeit, mit der die dakisch-römische Bevölkerung, die zukünftigen Rumänen, das Christentum annahmen, erweckte die Aufmerksamkeit der Historiker. Es scheint, dass den wesentlichen Beitrag der einheimische religiöse Fundus leistete und zwar die Religion der Daker, im Speziellen der Kult um Zamolxis. „Alle Teile dieser Religionsübung-Eschatologie, Immitation, Pythagoreismus, Asketentum, mystische Bildung (Astrologie, Therapie, Theurgie usw.)- unterstützen die Annäherung an das Christentum. Die beste und einfachste Erklärung für das Verschwinden des Zamolxis-Kults ist sicherlich die frühzeitige Christianisierung Daziens (vor 270 n.Ch.) [...] Man wird vergeblich nach möglichen Spuren des Zamolxis-Kultes in der rumänischen Folklore suchen, weil dieser nicht spezifisch ländlich war aber vor allem, weil Zamolxis, mehr als je einer der heidnischen Götter, sich für die Christianisierung eignete.[17]

Natürlich muss einschränkend hinzugefügt werden, dass trotz der Tatsache, dass dieser Kult nicht ländlichen Charakter hatte und nur von der Priesterkaste

[15] Mircea Eliade, nach M. P. Jura, in: *Aus den Erinnerungen des Schiltales, eine Handschrift die uns vom Studenten Marcu Jura zur Verfügung gestellt wurde.*

[16] Mariana Baffi, *Dacia preromana e Romania protochristiana*, Roma, 1968, S. 36.

[17] Mircea Eliade, *De la Zalmoxis la Ginghis-Han* [Von Zalmoxis zu Dschginhis-Khan], Bucureşti, Editura ştiinţifică şi enciclopedică, 1980, S. 77.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

ausgeübt wurde, auch die dakischen Bauern Zugang zu dieser Gottheit hatten und ebenfalls an die Unsterblichkeit der Seele glaubten; sie bildeten schließlich den Kern der dakischen Heere im Kriegsfall und erschrecken die Feinde durch ihre Todesverachtung. So konnte die Ähnlichkeiten zwischen Zamolxis und Christus den Dakern nicht verborgen bleiben: beide predigten ein Leben nach dem Tod, beide wurden begraben, für tot gehalten und beide waren auferstanden. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass die Daker, deren Mehrzahl Schafzüchter waren, den guten Hirten als eine Reinkarnation des Zamolxis ansahen. Diese Hypothese wird von der religiösen Struktur der rumänischen Dorfbevölkerung unterbaut: wie auch ihre dakischen Ahnen, die den Glauben an die Göttlichkeit des Zamolxis und das von ihm verheißene Leben nach dem Tod übernommen, aber trotzdem ihre Mythen, Aberglauben und von den Vorfahren übernommene Riten beibehalten hatten, waren auch die Rumänen, indem sie Zamolxis durch Christus ersetzten, die ganze Zeit über Christen, ohne jedoch ihre vorchristlichen Traditionen aufzugeben.

Die Daker waren aber keine Monotheisten, wie das vor allem von den Theologen behauptet wurde, und dieser Meinung sind auch die Historiker. Sogar Vasile Pârvan, von dem es heißt, dass er die These des dakischen Monotheismus verbreitet habe, meinte eigentlich, dass die Religion der Daker eigentlich henotheistisch geprägt war (mehrere Götter, die einem über-Gott untergeordnet waren), wobei der Henotheismus eine Form des Polytheismus darstellt. Gebeleizis, der Himmelsgott, wurde später zum Gott des Donners und schliesslich mit Zamolxis assimiliert[18], Benedis, die Entsprechung der römischen Diana, Weihnachten [Crăciun] mit dem römischen Gott Saturn identifiziert, Dochia – die Mutter – Göttin Gaia – die Vogelgöttin sind einige Beispiele für Gottheiten, die mit Zamolxis und später mit Gott – Jesus in der religiösen Vorstellung aus dem Donau-Schwarzmeer-Karpathenraum koexistierten.

Die Römer brachten, wie das auch nicht anders zu erwarten war, ihre Götter und deren Kulte mit nach Dazien, was die archäologischen Funde einiger Tempel, Kultstätten oder Inschriften beweisen. Als Frucht ihres Zusammenlebens mit den Dakern entstand das rumänische Volk, das sich einen religiösen Synkretismus zu eigen machte, der, wie Eliade das formulierte, im Gehalt dakisch und in der Form römisch war.

Weil weder der uns zur Verfügung gestellte Raum noch die Zeit es uns erlauben, der beim Begriff „kosmisches Christentum" anfallenden Problematik in „extenso" gerecht zu werden, werden wir uns auf bloß zwei Darstellungen der Volksfantasie konzentrieren: Gott und der Satan.

Wir hatten weiter oben angeführt, dass M. Eliade feststellte, dass die biblische Kosmogonie aus der europäischen Folklore verschwunden sei und dass im Südosten Europas eine dualistische Kosmogonie auftrat; anderseits hielt er fest, dass im kosmischen Christentum die geschichtlichen Aspekte des Christentums

[18] A.a.O.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

unbeachtet blieben. Aber dieses Ignorieren der theologischen und geschichtlichen Wirklichkeit ist nicht zufällig. In der Vorstellung des rumänischen Volkes erscheint Gott anthropomorph, als ein Greis mit langem Haar und Bart. Ion Ghinoiu spricht in seinem Werk „Das Daseins und das Jenseits" [Lumea de aici şi lumea de dincolo] über den Weihnachtsmann und stellt ihn sich als Menschen als „alten Mann, alten Hirten mit weißem Bart"[19] vor. Er glaubt, dass es der indo-europäische Vatergott war, der spezifisch für die Geten-Daker gewesen sei. Wir haben es also, wie man sieht, mit einer Überlagerung durch den autochthonen Vatergott des Vattergottes aus der neuen Religion zu tun, die nach der Annahme des Christentums erfolgt war.

Der von Eliade angeführte Mythos, der Gott und den Satan umkreist ist bei uns in einigen Hirtengegenden unbekannt, wie z.B. bei den „momârlani" in Schiltal [Jiu]. Es gibt dafür aber eine Anzahl von Legenden (die man auch in anderen Teilen des Landes findet), die Gott in Begleitung des Heiligen Petrus als auf die Erde zurückgekehrt darstellt, um sich für den guten Lauf der Dinge zu bemühen.

Eine vom Forscher Marcu Jura aus Jieţ – Schiltal aufgezeichnete Legende besagt, dass „einstmals, als Gott und Satan und Sankt Petrus noch auf Erden wanderten", der Herr beschlossen habe, dass immer „wenn ein Bursche oder ein Mädchen heiratet, ein Guter und ein Schlechter zusammengegeben werden sollen, dass auch der Schlechte neben dem Guten leben kann"[20].

Für diese Hirten (momârlani) hat Gott sie schon seit dem Anbeginn der Zeiten zu Schafhaltern werden lassen: „Nachdem Gott die Schafe geschaffen hatte, gab er ihnen zunächst Engel und dann gelehrte Leute als Hirten bei." Aber sowohl die Einen als auch die Anderen weinten und zitterten vor Kälte „als es zu regnen begann." „Als Gott das sah, gab er ihnen die Hirten als Hüter bei... Er fragte drei: Gefällt es euch bei den Schafen? Es gefällt uns, antworteten die Hirten. Gefällt es euch bei Regenwetter? Den Engeln und gelehrten Leuten hat es da nicht gefallen. Also, sagten die Hirten, wenn die Sonne scheint, ist es wie im Paradies, aber wenn es regnet, ist es nicht gut. Sie spielten dabei auf ihren Flöten und juchzten dabei. Seitdem beließ Gott diese Hirten bei den Schafen."[21]

Die Gottesauffassung der Rumänen ist eine fatalistische: Er entscheidet ihr Schicksal schon von Geburt an, bestimmt ihren Lebensweg und die Stunde ihres Todes, was durch die Überlagerung der verschiedenen Gottheiten durch den christlichen Gott bewiesen wird. Darum wird Gott bei allen Verrichtungen des Tagewerks angerufen, wird als Quelle alles Guten und des Gelingens aller Vorhaben angesehen. Die von den Popen durchgeführten geistlichen Handlungen, vor allem bei der Einweihung der neuen Häuser, nach dem Tod eines Familienmitglieds, vor dem Weideauftrieb, vor dem Abschätzen der Anteile der

[19] Ion Ghinoiu, *Lumea de aici, lumea de dincolo* [Die Welt von hier, die Welt von drueben], Bucureşti, Editura Fundaţiei Culturale Române, 1999, S 40.

[20] Informantin: Păun Jura Maria, Jieţ, 80 Jahre (2006).

[21] Informant: Brânzău Izvorel, Moliviş, 45.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Herdenbesitzer an Käse bei den Hürden, wo alle Schafe im Pferch zusammengetrieben wurden, die Gebete für die kraftlosen Rinder, oder, in Ermangelung eines Priesters, das einfache Hersagen des Vater Unsers oder das Schlagen des Kreuzes in obigen Fällen, aber auch bei bösem Blick, bei unnormalem Verhalten der Tiere usw. – in all diesen Fällen wurden Praktiken der Magie oder Zaubersprüche durch christliche Handlungen ersetzt. Man kann kaum bemerken, dass von der magischen Weltsicht des traditionellen Dorfes her, seine übernatürliche Kräfte, die man früher durch magische Handlungen zu bannen versuchte, mit der Gestalt Gottes assimiliert wurden und zwar im Falle der Weißen Magie, die positiven, während die negativen (im Falle der schwarzen Magie) mit dem Teufel assimiliert wurden.

In der christlichen Lehre wurden die Prinzipien des Guten durch den Herrgott, seine Heiligen und Engel einerseits und des Bösen durch den Teufel (Satan) und seine Heerscharen gefallener Engel anderseits, verkörpert. Das kosmische Christentum ist jedoch dualistisch, so wie es M. Eliade[22] bezüglich der südosteuropäischen Kosmogonie nachweist. Der Teufel aus der religiösen Folklore ist nicht der jüdisch-christliche, der sich Gott unterwirft und der den Menschen nur dann Böses zufügen kann, wenn diese nicht im Glauben stehen oder wenn Gott es ihm erlaubt, um die Menschen zu prüfen. In der Volksdichtung ist der Satan einerseits die Verkörperung der Kräfte des Bösen, anderseits aber auch der negativen übernatürlichen Kräfte, ist also ein Gott des Bösen, der auf der Erde entstand, der sich in immerwährendem Kampf mit dem himmlischen Herrgott befindet. Wenn ein Mensch eines natürlichen Todes stirbt, sagt man im Volk, dass ihn der Herrgott zu sich genommen hat, wenn er hingegen vor der Zeit einen Unfalltot stirbt, sagt man, dass ihn der Teufel geholt habe. Dieser hat die Macht, in das Schicksal der Menschen einzugreifen und ihr Leben auf tragische Weise zu verkürzen. Auf den Teufel kann man durch die Praktiken der schwarzen Magie oder durch sein bloßes Nennen in Flüchen einwirken. Er stellt seine Kraft Menschen zur Verfügung, die seine Hilfe annehmen, über die er aber ständig seine Kontrolle ausübt: er bestraft sie dann, wenn sie umbotmäßig werden oder wenn ihre satanischen Praktiken misslingen. Der Akatisth des Heiligen Cyprianus, den man vornehmlich zur Aufhebung des Zauberbannes liest, beweist obige Behauptung hinlänglich.

Für die Hirten des Schiltales, die schon erwähnten „momârlani", z.B. war der Name des Teufels bis zur Hälfte des vorigen Jahrhunderts tabu, weil man glaubte, dass sich durch sein bloßes Nennen böse Folgen einstellen würden. Auch heutzutage kann man noch viele Leute sagen hören: Geh zu jenem, und zu seiner Mutter „fire-al crepu hiriş!" [kann auch von Autor nicht erklärt werden]. Geh zu Juda", „Halai" aus „Dă-te halâi" ist eine Abkürzung von „halul rău" was Not oder Jämmerlicher Zustand bedeutet, der Name „Judas", der dem Teufel gegeben wird,

[22] Eine fundierte Analyse der heidnischen kosmogonischen Mythen liefert Eliade in seinem Werk [Von Zamolxis zu Dschingis-Khan].

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

ist natürlich christlicher Herkunft. Man hört auch heute noch viele Alte aus dieser Gegend statt „an den Teufel geraten", sagen „ins Elend geraten."[23] Der Satan ist also für das Böse in der Welt verantwortlich und wird von den Zauberinnen in ihren Praktiken der schwarzen Magie verwendet. Er ist auch für die Existenz der lebenden und toten Geister verantwortlich.

Schlussfolgernd kann vermerkt werden: der rumänische Bauer war und ist es teilweise auch heute noch, eine merkwürdige Mischung von Bräuchen, Gesten Zeremonien, durch die er den Kosmos und seine Umwelt verchristlicht hat, diese stützt sich zu gleichen Teilen auf die Heilige Schrift und die Heilige Tradition, die Letztere zwingt ihn zur Würde und Moralität, die einander innerhalb der großen christlichen Ader ergänzen. Christ sein, bedeutet in der Welt des Dorfes nicht nur in die Kirche zu gehen, sondern auch christlich zu denken, zu handeln, und vor allem – einer christlichen Moral zu folgen.

Ich fühle mich hier am Schluss der Arbeit auch zu einer Erklärung verpflichtet. Ich habe diesen Begriff, der uns Rumänen so nahe steht und der viele Bezüge zur Identität der Volkskultur aufweist, aufgegriffen, indem ich auch an Mircea Eliade dachte, an das Centennarium seiner Geburt und an das Schicksal des rumänischen Dorfes, unter Hervorhebung der Feststellung, dass die aktuellen Probleme der dörflichen Welt nicht wirtschaftlichen, sondern *schicksalhafter Natur* sind. Es ist bekannt, dass das rumänische Dorf nicht nur eine einfache menschliche Ansiedlung war, eine Aneinanderreihung von Wirtschaften, sondern eine ganze eigene *Welt*, mit einer eigenen Denkungsart, aus welcher die „Mioritza", der „Meister Manole", „Die Sonne und der Mond" und die „Profane Kantate" [„Meşterul Manole", „Soarele şi luna", „Cantata profana"] entsprangen. Diese archaische Welt wurde erst zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts von der Geschichte bedrängt, als die Großfarmen und Traktoren auftauchten und den *traditionellen Lebensumkreis dieser Dörfer sprengten*. Danach kann es auch zum ersten Exodus der Bauern nach Amerika. Dort verdienten sie Geld, kamen nach Hause zurück, vermehrten ihren Besitz, schickten dann ihre Kinder auf die Schule, entweder um einen Beruf zu erlernen oder um zu studieren.

Ein zweiter Ansturm auf die archaische Welt des Dorfes erfolgte in den sechziger Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts durch die Zwangskollektivisierung. Die Industrialisierung, das Pendlertum, der Nachahmungstrieb trugen auch wesentlich zur Zerstörung des Antlitzes der rumänischen Dörfer bei. Das echte rumänische Dorf begann damals zu verschwinden, als die handgewebten Teppiche von den Wänden genommen wurden und von der „Entführung aus der Serail" ersetzt wurden, und als die Hinterglasikonen durch Kitschgemälde ersetzt wurden, die z.B. Stilleben mit Melonen, Hirschen und Rehen darstellten.

Wir haben es heute mit einer massiven und noch nie da gewesenen Landflucht zu tun: die Menschen werden entwurzelt, gehen in den Westen auf Arbeit und kommen in den meisten Fällen nicht mehr zurück. Wenn sie es dennoch

[23] Die Information stammt von dem Gewährsmann Marcu Jura aus Jieţ – Hunedoara.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

tun, protzen sie durch geschmacklose und überladene Häuser. So geht die Dorfarchitektur verloren, die von einem fast musikalischen Gleichklang geprägt war und Schritt für Schritt *verlieren wir unsere Identität* und „gleiten aus der Geschichte heraus" – nach dem Ausdruck des bekannten Zeitgenössischen Schriftstellers, Octavian Paler. Aus einem falsch verstandenen Hang, es dem Westen gleichzutun, verzichten wir allzuleicht auf *den Grundstock unserer Identität,* die seit jeher die Volkskultur und Zivilisation war und es auch bleiben wird, die sich in Büchern, in Museen und teilweise auch in der Welt des Dorfes äußert: durch Holzkirchen, die Volkskunst, Volksdichtung usw.

Von daher aus diesen Erwägungen heraus, muss sich unser ganzes Augenmerk auf die traditionelle Kultur und Zivilisation richten, insbesondere auf das kosmische Christentum, die alle eng verbunden mit dem Schicksal unseres Volkes sind.[24]

[24] Übersetzung Prof. Dr. Udo-Peter Wagner.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

# L'ORDURE D'OR

NICOLAE PANEA

Le besoin de critiquer rapidement de nouveaux quartiers pour faciliter la migration démographique du village vers la ville aboutit dans les années '70 à une monotonie architecturale et à la formalisation excessive des espaces habités. Les nouveaux quartiers, qui forment aujourd'hui les périphéries des grandes agglomérations urbaines du pays ont l'aspect d'un labyrinthe de béton, où, une fois entré en tant qu'étranger, on a de graves problèmes d'orientation. La plupart du temps, il n'y a ni de repères réels-identitaires ni de repères réels topographiques. À la différence de la zone centrale où les maisons ont leur propre histoire, où les rues confirment cette histoire, dans les zones marginales, où les rues n'ont pas de noms, à l'exception des allées: des espaces de transit, sans institutions ordinatrices, la mairie, par exemple, sans monuments, puisque le passé ne s'est pas séparé du présent, se contoure un univers périurbain qui cherche son identité, qui lutte pour formuler une mythologie capable de l'identifier, de tirer le passé du présent éternel de l'habitation. Nous utilisons le terme «mythologie» dans sa signification particulière de manière dans laquelle les habitants vivent l'image sociale de leur rapport avec l'espace d'habitation.

Dans le cas de ces quartiers, une telle mythologie est placée sous le signe du négatif. Elle est conçue en fonction des inconvénients: éloignement, inconfort, bruit, violence, vulgarité, vice. Et pourtant, une telle mythologie est le seul remède contre le non-espace, tel que Marc Augé le comprend, un «lieu anthropologique vidé de tout ce qu'il a d'identitaire».

Que ferait Jason dans un tel monde, comment imposerait-il le présent face à son oncle, Pélias, pour construire un avenir juste pour lui? Tous les jeunes de ces quartiers sont une sorte de Jason. Leur voyage dans le présent pour s'ordonner l'avenir ne mène pourtant pas loin. Pour eux, Colchide est entre les blocs, et la toison n'est pas d'or, mais l'ordure, puisqu'une de leur premiers voyages dans leur vie est celui vers la plateforme d'ordure; un lieu mystérieux et une leçon de socialisation. Un lieu terrifiant par son désordre en tant qu'espace extérieur, nécessaire, pourtant, pour la maintenance de l'ordre dans l'espace intérieur. Un lieu

REF/JEF, *2*, p. 259–264, Bucureşti, 2007
https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

répugnant par son saleté grisante en tant qu'espace extérieure, encore une fois, nécessaire pour la maintenance de la propreté des espaces intérieurs (l'habitation).

Symbole de l'innocence, la toison du bélier mythique est, dans le contexte de l'informe, de l'inconnu périurbain, remplacée par l'ordure dans une centralité symbolique déterminante et dans une symbolique reformulée de la recherche initiatique. Jason, symbole de la lutte contre la banalité, a changé, dans un nouveau contexte, la cible de la recherche.

## 1. L'ORDURE D'OR. LA PREMIÈRE LEÇON SUR L'ESPACE

Nous soulignions, dans un autre contexte, que «la plus spectaculaire restructuration sociale produite par l'urbain sur une catégorie d'âge ou professionnelle est celle que l'enfant ressent. Dans une société rurale, l'enfant est presqu'inexistant en tant qu'actant social. Cette réalité est engendrée par le type de socialisation qu'une communauté traditionnelle applique. La socialisation de l'enfant dans un environnement rural traditionnel a comme but l'induction des règles sociales dans un rythme lent et dans une cyclicité large.» La même chose advient chez l'enfant qui habite dans ces quartiers périurbains.

Obligé à franchir seul l'extérieur de l'appartement, l'enfant nait socialement. L'habitation de ses parents, une prolongation de l'utérus materne, représente pour lui la sécurité, la protection, la chaleur. Le monde devient une alternance dedans/dehors, que l'enfant est obligé à découvrir rapidement.

## 2. LES ESPACES INTERMEDIAIRES. L'ESCALIER DE BLOC, LA COUR OU «DEVANT LE BLOC», LE SOUS-SOL DU BLOC

Ces espaces appartiennent à tous les habitants. Ici, l'enfant peut observer des différences et il commence à conscientiser que l'espace n'est pas homogène. La première opposition définitoire est celle entre la propreté et la saleté (saleté physique, mais aussi verbale, la vulgarité, ou comportementale, la violence), et ensuite celle entre la sécurité et l'insécurité. Il apprendra plus tard que cette propreté est engendrée par le respect des conventions; tous les «c'est permis» et «c'est défendu» qu'il entend chaque jour.

La saleté du monde extérieur s'instaure quand ces conventions ou convenances sont abolies. Le premier effet inverse de cette situation est celui que la saleté s'insinue lorsque «les règles sont mises à part par amour de l'amitié».

Les premières amitiés, plus précisément des camaraderies, en tant que forme de reconnaissance et domination de l'espace extérieur amènent une réalité

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

troublante: le mélange paradoxal entre la sécurité et la saleté. Les jeux de l'enfance en sont les produits et ce sont eux qui confirment, à leur tour, cette réalité. L'enfant comprend que l'extérieur est un mode des paradoxes. C'est le premier signe qu'une vision sur le monde prend naissance.

Ces espaces intermédiaires sont un mélange entre le propre et le sale, entre la sécurité et l'insécurité, des espaces qui n'appartiennent à personne, mais qui appartiennent à tous. Ces espaces qui restent longtemps sales, qui semblent souvent délaissés, mal illuminés, non-hospitaliers, qui abritent des querelles entre les locataires, deviennent un lieu de dépôt pour l'un ou pour l'autre, sans demander la permission des autres, et ils sont circulés par des personnes inconnues, même par des animaux.

### 3. LE CHEMIN VERS L'ÉCOLE. LA PREMIERE RECHERCHE OU L'INVASION DES PARADOXES

Le passage de l'espace privé à l'espace commun et ensuite vers l'espace extérieur nécessite un ensemble de rites (formalisations des actions ordinatrices). Pour l'enfant, un tel rituel est représenté par le chemin vers l'école, l'école devenant un corrélatif de l'habitation: règles et sécurité, propreté et centralité. L'enfant parcourt chaque jour le même trajet, il a le même temps de départ et d'arrivée, il rencontre les mêmes actants, les élèves de l'école, les collègues de classe, tous sont habillés de la même uniforme, tous parcourent le même chemin vers la gloire. Là, pourtant, il doit apprendre à réfléchir dans les termes de la compétition, de l'iniquité sociale et de la ségrégation, qui auront des répercussions sur l'intégration et sur les formes concrètes que prend l'intégration.

L'évidente différenciation dans l'acquisition des habitudes, la culture de la sensibilité et la connaissance du monde aboutit à la dynamitation de l'unité initiale de la classe en tant que groupe d'intérêts en des petits groupes d'égaux qui s'hiérarchisent dans le temps et entre qui s'établissent des relations de ségrégation qui contribuent à une socialisation inégale. D'autre part, les autres manières de segmentation du temps habituent l'enfant à une cyclicité beaucoup plus prononcée et, implicitement, à un rythme de vie plus alerte, qui lui posent d'autres problèmes dans la gestion des émotions qui sont plus diverses que celles auxquelles est confronté un enfant dans une société rurale-traditionnelle. Cette cyclicité accentuée et bien précisée de même que le rythme soutenu de la vie imposent à l'enfant un comportement inertiel, sinon une routine, de laquelle il ne peut pas se détacher, avec laquelle il s'habitue jusqu'à la confusion, de même que le comportement d'un adulte est modelé jusqu'à la routine en fonction du métier qu'il pratique. En un mot, la société urbaine fait en sorte que l'enfant vive l'enfance comme un métier.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

## 4. LE CHEMIN VERS LA PLATEFORME D'ORDURE. LA DEUXIEME RECHERCHE

L'opposé du chemin vers l'école est le chemin vers l'endroit où on jette l'ordure. La manière dans laquelle on a construit ces quartiers ont fait en sorte que l'emplacement des plateformes ait ordonné l'espace, l'ait semantisé par une centralité évidente. Il semble que même autour d'elles se configure une sous-séquence spatiale, représentée par le groupe de blocs d'appartements, un lieu que l'on ne s'attend pas à trouver là. Théoriquement, marginalement, il se découvre et il est doué du sens précisément en vertu de sa centralité. Tel que Jason a la révélation de la Colchide, de la même manière la plateforme d'ordure exerce son inexplicable force d'attraction-rejet sur les enfants du quartier.

L'existence d'un tel espace dans sa centralité, assumé comme tel du point de vue communautaire, convainc l'enfant qu'il a le droit à la saleté de la même façon qu'il a le droit à la propreté, que salir signifie vivre d'une autre manière, qui peut être aussi bien accepté même si connoté négativement.

Le contact périodique de l'enfant avec un tel lieu signifie une victoire sur l'immédiat et une sorte d'exorcisation, puisqu'il voit comment, à des intervalles aléatoires, l'espace sale est nettoyé pour devenir bientôt sale. L'enfant réalise ceci comme une lutte entre le propre et le sale, une confrontation continuelle qui l'enseigne à prendre possession de l'espace. Il comprend que les effets du sale peuvent être circonscrits à un espace restreint, sans valeur, contraire à sa centralité. Il apprend à maîtriser ses sentiments.

## 5. LA NUIT, LE FROID ET L'ORDURE. LA TROISIEME RECHERCHE

Le principal sentiment contre lequel l'enfant doit lutter est la peur, «un élément essentiel de toute pédagogie initiatique». Sa maîtrise signifie la maîtrise des événements quotidiens, même du monde. D'autre part, «confronter le jeune à une souffrance délibérée, la peur de confronter l'obscurité, est, dans ce cas, une méthode de tester les ressources que le groupe lui demandent pour sa maturation».

Sortant de l'obscurité, l'enfant est confronté à sa propre précarité essentielle, il se recherche soi-même et s'impose soi-même à l'espace vide, imperceptible à cause de l'obscurité, un espace qu'il remplit de sa présence, en l'occupant, non pas seulement physiquement, mais aussi militairement.

La nuit et l'ordure deviennent deux formes symboliques de la mort, un mélange d'informe et d'impure, le chaos suprême. En triomphant d'elles par l'imposition de sa simple présence, l'enfant accomplit un rite de passage, une initiation. Les sens de ce rituel visent la révélation de la vérité concernant l'existence en tant que menace perpétuelle.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

## 6. LA VIOLENCE ET LA VULGARITÉ. LA COTERIE OU L'ECHOUAGE DU NAVIRE ARGOS. LA QUATRIEME RECHERCHE

Les villes qui ont survécu au communisme ont chez nous, semble-t-il, la même configuration; une agglomération de blocs impersonnels et, la plupart des fois, inconfortables, des représentations architecturales d'une imagination stéréotype et pauvre. L'escalier de bloc est un micro-univers qui se situe à la limite entre l'inclusion et l'exclusion, il est un monde qui désire se légitimer. L'escalier de bloc, forme typique d'association urbaine, n'a pas de personnalité urbaine, il représente une position dans une sérialité, il est inclus et exclus en même temps. Il fait parte du quartier et il se perd dans l'anonymat du quartier, puisque personne ne le perçoit en tant qu'individualité et pourtant, ici vivent des gens qui emploient des stratégies d'adaptation, de personnalisation, qui se constituent en une confrontation de hiérarchies. Il y a une *hiérarchie gérontocratique*. Les personnes âgées se souviennent des commencements et leurs souvenirs deviennent source de pouvoir puisqu'ils créent d'identité. Leurs souvenirs se constituent dans une sorte d'histoire orale. Il y a des familles fondatrices qui ont des privilèges dans la prise de décisions, car l'ancienneté de l'habitation est l'une des formes de légitimation, elles ont des privilèges dans le partage de l'espace commun (endroits de garage de la voiture, des espaces de dépôt), elles détiennent des privilèges sélectifs dans n'importe quelle forme associative. Le modèle d'une telle hiérarchie est la copie fidèle de la famille patriarcale, dans laquelle le patriarche est «l'administrateur» du patrimoine familial. Il y a une *hiérarchie du prestige social*. Ceux qui ont conquis le monde extérieur reçoivent ces droits. Leur succès est la garantie de la bonne gestion du petit monde de l'escalier de bloc. Ces personnes deviennent automatiquement les patrons d'une clientèle réduite, qui espère de conquérir, à son tour, l'Extérieur. Cette hiérarchie ne peut pas remplacer la première, elles se tolèrent réciproquement, parfois, en collaborant. Son modèle est celui du parrainage traditionnel. Il y a une *hiérarchie de la témérité*, la plupart des fois, imposée par la violence. La forme la plus fréquente est la coterie. Organisation clientelaire juvénile, la coterie vise la personnalisation de l'espace, la territorialisation en tant que méthode de légitimation. C'est un reflexe d'adaptation et de contrecarrer le manque de tradition et de propriété. Le processus psychotique d'individuation n'a aucun sens dans le contexte du manque d'une culture de la propriété. Les quartiers urbains sont une sorte de no man's land où les jeunes doivent résoudre le manque d'un héritage culturel comme forme de légitimation. Leur comportement est un comportement colonialiste, qui prolifère le droit du premier venu, du plus fort, de la clientèle onéreuse. La coterie a aussi un aspect initiatique de type mannerbunde. C'est pour cela que la plupart des fois, sa fonctionnalité est basée sur un conflit continuel avec le monde ordonné, légitime, légitimée par le fonctionnement des deux premiers types de hiérarchies.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

## CONCLUSIONS

Représentation de la saleté par excellence, la plateforme d'ordure est douée d'une riche symbolique dans le contexte du processus social et psychique de rapprochement de l'espace, de conquête et de marquage de celui-ci, de sorte que l'individu puisse se sentir en sécurité et qu'il puisse recevoir des repères cognitifs. Paradoxalement, un lieu, apparemment sans valeur, devient essentiel dans le processus d'initiation juvénile en contexte urbain.

## BIBLIOGRAPHIE

**Augé**, Marc, *Non-Lieux*, Paris, Edition du Seuil, 1992.
**Le Breton**, David, *Anthropologie de la douleur*, Paris, Metailie, 1995.
**Chevalier**, J., Gheerbrant, A., *Dictionnaire des symboles*, Paris, Robert Laffont-Jupiter, 1990.
**Diel**, Paul, *Le symbolisme dans la mythologie grecque*, Paris, Payot, 1952.
**Douglas**, Mary, *Purity and Danger*, London /New York, Routlege, 2001.
**Fijalkow**, Yankel, *Sociologie de la ville*, Paris, La Decouverte, 2005.
**Panea**, Nicolae, *Zeii de asfalt*, Bucureşti, Cartea Românească, 2001.
**Sansot**, Pierre, *Poétique de la ville*, Paris, Payot, 2004.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

# THE BALLADS OF THE HORSE THIEVES

SABINA ISPAS

## INTRODUCTION

The ballads of the horse thieves are characterized by tension, dramatic development, and persuasion combined with professional pride. These ballads are included in several types of the heroic epos and family ballad. There are only two important characters in such oral texts: the thief and the horse. The former is assertive, active, dynamic and restless, the latter is the bearer of economic and social value. Together they make an exemplary couple, as the ballads are artistic expressions that convey on the one hand observance of law and on the other hand the deliberate infringement of law. In such ballads, every action or behavior may express an aspiration for both "achieving perfection" and "liberation" from the imperatives of the social norm.

## PHENOMENOLOGY OF MARGINALITY

Every historic epoch has different criteria and options, with specific dynamics, to delimit and define the categories of the déclassé, of the outcasts, of the expelled. "The term *marginality* originated in a metaphor relative to space [...]. Space is viewed dichotomically: inside and outside, the center and the periphery [...]. The center means organized social life, community life based on family and group solidarity; the margin refers to the exiles, the malefactors, the contestants, the heretics, the deviants. [...] marginalizations mainly the result of behaviours which are not complying with the rules of organization of everyday life and with the customs of a community" (Geremek 1999: 324).

The parallel world of society was a "counter society", formed of different types of marginals. The most numerous were and still are the social economic ones, which reach a certain threshold of destitution. Some of these belong to other categories at the periphery of the social: tramps, thieves, bandits, prostitutes, pimps. Not so long ago, people who practiced so-called impure trades were also

REF/JEF, *2*, p. 265–272, Bucureşti, 2007

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

included: butchers, bather dressers, tanners, cesspool cleaners, usurers. There are also some groups whose status can change: the déclassés for special reasons, peculiar situations, and the political exiles of the Middle Ages or those accused of political offences in the totalitarian regimes, even nowadays (e.g. people convicted by communist regimes). In some societies the marginals are the foreigners, the bastards, the heretics. Almost up to the modern times, a special category in the wide social contexts is made by people with severe psychic deficiencies as well as of incurable patients (such as the lepers). The vast literature devoted in the last decades to this most sensitive topic has proved that there is a peculiar dynamics of the notion of marginal (marginals, marginality) which has covered real sinusoids throughout social history, vacillating from worship to incrimination, from respect to fear, from repulsion to compassion (Le Goff 1979, Schmitt 1988, Foucault 1999, Geremek 1999, Livadă-Cadeschi 1993, Mazilu 2006). Nevertheless, no matter what was the official standpoint toward individuals and groups considered to be marginal, always felt as interesting. Their dramatic stories may provide exemplary models, especially by the agency of literature or of the audio-visual creation. Outlaws, fighters for a social cause, brigands, pirates, highwaymen are the main characters of a great deal of ballads, performed in various circumstances for a very different audience, from the feudal lord up to the peasant and townsman. These stories aroused contradictory feelings, but maintained a permanent interest in the events and persons who were outlawed-willfully or not.

A thief is one who secretly or violently takes away what belongs to somebody else, thus causing damage to another person. In the 19th Century's Romanian Principalities, thieves were stealing horses, oxen, buffalos, sheep, poultry, wagons, bee-hives, money, clothes, ecclesiastical objects. Law considered theft the non-payment of customs, the destruction of vineyards or fruit trees, the act of deviating the streams for one's benefit, theft from houses on fire, taking possession of things found on the road, changing the place of boundary markers. To be punished, theft had to be proved. If this was not possible, oath was accepted. According to Dan Horia Mazilu, documents prove that highwaymen were extremely proficient. Armed with weapons, they were cruel, swiftly moving, ingenious in organizing ambushes and rescues. Their fellowship was strengthened by the solidarity of the people with important personalities from the world of brigands (Mazilu 2006). In historical periods characterized by crises, the multiplication of aggressions and robberies could create insecurity and bring about chaos by terror, jeopardizing the steadfastness of the country. The ballads called thieves "housebreakers".

## THE ROMANIAN BALLADRY

Ethnologists, social anthropologists, historians and even folklorists have been more and more concerned with the theme of "marginality" in recent years. Folkloristics, literature creators and literary criticism have already approached the

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

personalities belonging to that category who became literary heroes. Romanian folkloristics devoted thorough analyses to the legends, heroic songs and ballads of outlawry, whose main characters were protesters, deserters, fugitives, warriors turned into brigands, often fighting against foreign invasions or excessive seigniorial authority. Those analyses started in the Romantic period and reached the modern epoch. Some of the fighters involved in uprisings or various social protests were members of the high society, others were peasants or townsmen; some had a dramatic end, others acquired wealth and recovered their social status.

Analyzing the narrative thread of the ballads, we may notice that poetic texts present with shades of differences the goals of armed attacks against a person or representatives of the princely authority. The social justice-loving component may be easily pointed out in epic texts about outlaws or rebellions boyars, to be differentiated from the interest for gaining possessions for oneself or a small group of attackers. The categories of stolen goods and the places where attacks were organized are the same. They stole: money from tributes and taxes, flocks of sheep, sheepfold products, victuals for Ottoman officials and especially horses. The sites selected were mountain paths, forest thickets, crossroads, boundaries, places at the end of settlements or countries, marshes close to rivers and bridges over streams, fairs. The time chosen was adequate seasons, when vegetation was abundant and thickets were full of leaves, hidden roads could be used and traces could not be easily identified.

The horse is the most steadfast of all the animals present in man's life at important moments. The popular literary text shows it as such, pointing to the intimacy created between the two. In archetypology and in psychanalytical approaches the horse is endowed with many-sided meanings, combining complementary aspects: the earthly and the solar, the uranian and the chtonian, the transition, time and implicitly, death, but also flight, elevation, the yeoman for endless space and eternity. In many cultures it is seen as a sacred animal, having oracular power. The horse is a quintessence of material and spiritual values (Durand 1977).

The horse is not only a steadfast presence, close to the hero and helping him, as seen in fairy-tales, but also an emblematic character in numerous folklore categories or species, ranging from ritual or ceremonial ones to didactic or entertainment ones. The horse is the symbolic guide and carrier of the souls on the path to the Beyond in funeral songs. In the wedding rite, a horse is presented to the bridegroom by the bride's family. In carols it is a link between humans and the transcendental world. It is also a sign of identification for the youth who is not only handsome and brave but can also ride a wild horse and skillfully plait its tail. The horse's harness points to the wealth of the hero.

The horse is the most devoted companion of the rebellions character, of the knight and warrior in the heroic epos or ballad. It carries him on the battle field, helps him to win or faithfully watches over him when he is dying and even digs his grave. The horse carries the main character of lyrics in his amorous wanderings and

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

waits for him uncomplaining, whenever the selfish lover leaves it tethered, without water or fodder. A carol called *The young man and the horse* points out the horse's understanding for his master's weakness and impulsivity. In fairy-tales, the horse of the hero is fed on hot embers (Amzulescu 1981, Brătulescu 1981).

The thoroughbred horse is the outcome of man's long-lasting endeavor to improve his characteristics and to develop the qualities assigned to it. Beauty, dignity and nimbleness were necessary to represent the social status of the master, his emblem. Strength and sturdiness were required to carry the master in battles or to carry out domestic toils; endurance helped to ensure transportation and fast communication. We may say that this "noble" animal that crossed history next to the man is the outcome of a long creative and cultural process, which involved both protagonists.

**THE PRESENCE OF HORSE (Brief Historical Survey)**

The Ice Age made European and Asian horses migrate from the North to the South. The rock paintings of France and Spain provide us information about the taming of *Equus caballus gmelini,* which occurred in the area between the Danube and the Volga. That region provided special conditions for animal breeding and the various peoples who passed there fighters known for their expertise as riders and continued to improve horse breeds and let them live free. Free herds were found in Bugeac till recently. Horses were first used for riding, then for traction. The latter operation had been assigned to the oxen tamed before. In necropolis of the III rd-II nd millennia B.C., horse bones were found close to human ones. The Scythians who drove their horse herds to various grazing fields, depending on the season, worshipped the horse. Celts worshipped goddess Epona, a deity of the horses. As early as the 14$^{th}$ century B.C., according to burnt clay plates, horse sports were practiced in the Ancient East. The Roman and Persian Empires used fine mail system, using relay of horses; horses were also used in 10.000 post stations in the time of Genghis Khan. In ancient Hellada (B.C.), horse breeding was a noble concern and horse sports were included in the program of Olympiads: riding races of quadrigae and bigae, mule-driver, battle chariots. Olymp, Corinth, Delphi, Athens were known for horse sports. A first work on *Horsemanship* was written by Xenophon (430-335 B.C.). The rules of the tournaments were set in the 11$^{th}$ century. The Europe of the 12$^{th}$ century, and during the Renaissance, professed high quality horse training.

Prophet Mohammed recommended special concern for the breeding of Arabian horses. As a result, those horses had high qualities, much appreciated in the Middle Ages. Crusaderd used to capture such horses for breeding, as war spoils. The horse-shoe was invented in the Near East, facilitating the displacement of troops. Most of the warriors who covered the areas between the Danube, the

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Carpathians and the Black Sea were skilful horse breeders and fine riders. Horses have been used for hundreds of years in agriculture and in short- and medium-distance transportation. Their use for military purposes greatly increased in the modern age, after the age of invasions and wars of the Middle Ages.

In Romanian folk culture, especially in the literary text, the image of the horse, with all its social aspects and meanings, is a constant presence. The horse is widely used in all types of traditional activities (farming, shepherding, river navigation, trade and transportation). During ceremonies and feasts, the prince and boyars of the Romanian Principalities proudly displayed their breeds in front of people. On such occasions races were organized. Princely horses were presented on the Eve of the Epiphany and on St. George's Day, and horse races were also taking place. This ritual action was documented as early as Alexandru Lapuşneanu's reign (1552-1568); and similar events are described in detail in Gheorgachi's Register (*Condica lui Gheorgachi*, 1762) of the 18th century. The pompous parade organized to honour the prince observed a special succession: first came the trotters (horses harnessed to the princely carriages), then the gendarmes, the flags made of two or three white horse tails skilfully plaited, attached to a spear painted in red, topped by a crescent, then the princely horses, and in the end the steeds ridden by young boyars' sons. The parade horse from the imperial stable, sent by the Sultan as a gift when the prince was invested, was ridden by the great equerry attired in a princely costume. Those ceremonies were not only displays of the princely power and wealth but also tokens of appreciation for the highly valued horses.

The Arabian horse was bred as early as the 18th century in the Rădăuți stud farm. In 1864, a stud farm was developed in Walachia, on the estate of the Copuzu Monastery. A Jockey Club was founded in Bucharest and a Hippodrome in 1874-1875. After the First World War several stud farms appeared in several Romanian localities. The Romanian sporting horse is bred in the farm studs of Sâmbăta (Sibiu County) and Jegălia (Ialomița County). Irrespective of the evolution of modern technology, the horse was, is and will be a value with multiple facets.

## GENRES, TYPES, THEMES, VERSIONS

The Romanian Typological Index, established by Al.I. Amzulescu (1981, 1983), includes in the category of the heroic epos some types of poetic texts whose main characters are called *hoțomani* (big thieves), persons who did not stand out by deeds of bravery or by a special interest in rising up against the *cotropitori* (invaders) of the Romanian lands. They also differed from the *hajdouks*, fighters in a social war, organized in outlaw groups, whose main objective was to help the poor and hurt people. The *hoțomani* were characterized by a certain skill in using guns; they were brave, but their incentive was to obtain goods by force (robbery) or deceit for themselves and their comrades. The acquisition of foreign goods gas

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

very seldom a visible or dominant aspect. Cases such as the robbing the emperor's (sultan or khan) horse herd were rare. In the thematic group of the *hoţomani* several types are differentiable, generically called the *ballads of the horse thieves.* According to the Romanian index of heroic epic song those types are: 170 (*Codreanu*), 171 (*Cârlăioru*), 172 (*Stan din Bărăgan*), 175 (*Cântecul lui Săcală* – Săcală's song), 185 (*Iortoman*), 195 (*Şaicu*). Some types of the *hoţomani* category are also recorded in the typological index of the family ballad, and they are spread only in the southern area of Romania, namely Wallachia: 44 (*Luniţă, luniţă*), 45 (*Cântecul chirigiului* – The wagoner's song), 46 (*Petre*), 47 (*Cântecul lui Radu* – Radu's song).

A first group of those epic texts, within the mentioned thematic category, could be called *The temptation of the horse lover.* The horse thief highly values the qualities of a horse seen by chance, and wants it for himself. To acquire it he uses deceit and becomes aggressive towards the owner of the horse, thinking of him as unworthy to own such a valuable animal. For the horse he has nothing but respect and appreciation. As a token of high regard, he prepares a princely harness for it. When another ballad character, *Ghimiş*, horse lover, proudly compels his mare to pass a test and be wounded, he sincerely regrets it: „He cried like a madman". To amends his guilt, the horse-loving thief takes by force the colt of the wounded mare from its owner, proving thus how much he thought of the animal to which he caused suffering and which he did not abandon. Ghimiş took refuge in the thicket with both horses so that his trail be lost. The pride of stealing two horses from the same owner under moonlight is concealed by the earnest invocation of the witnesses to the „transaction" – the sham „sale" of the horses: the manger of the dark-bay horse, the posts of the stable, the poles where horses were tethered, that were left useless after the disappearance of the sorrels (Lunita, Lunita). The horse stolen by three Cossacks and three „Mirzaks" who didn't know to fairly „share" it among them, was acquired by deceit by another man, enticed by the beauty of the stallion which was not rightly valued by the former thieves (*Isirim Bogatu's Song).*

## THEFT AS A BUSINESS: THE PRIDE OF THE SKILFUL MAN

The epic text based on such a theme is focused on horse-catching techniques, on the way horses can be lured and captured, as well as on the risks that the thief and the damaged person would face. When horses are stolen to be sold, both the thief and the horse dealer never cheat the buyer and they are interested in high-value horses, prized and wished for. The thief chooses either horses with qualities which he can acknowledge, as a professional, or a princely herd, in which the best saddle horses are bred.

Folk texts show that horses were also stolen for the need for transportation. A carter complains that „marsh thieves" have stolen the wheelers that were „the strength of the wagon", and the side-horse that could drag the cart „out of the mud

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

and helped him in need". Stolen horses were usually of high bred. The most prized were the Moldavian and Dobrudjan ones.

The job of horse stealing and „possible selling" required great expertise. One should have known the characteristics of all horse breeds in the country, the stud-farm owners, the demand and prices on the international horse market, the risk taken by a thief, namely the legislation on theft and its penalties. The law referred to concealers, buyers and damaged parties, witnesses who guaranteed the genuineness of the transaction, with their part of guilt or request for reparation. In some cases, horse theft was punished by death. Educational texts, present in some ballads point to the severity of the punishment for horse thieves.

Horse catching is an action to be minutely prepared in advance. To be successful, the thief should know horses very well and be aware of the way they are to be cared for, as well as of the favourable weather forecast – darkness, tempests, mist preferred. Adequate tools should be used for particular cases. Catching with a lasso required a safe instrument, made by the thief himself, with great skill required by long practice.

Another method to catch horses was to lure them with adequate food (salt and bread) near a fountain or water source. The ballad *Stan of Bărăgan* describes the way the skilled thief succeeds in capturing wild horses, in order to sell them.

The sultans of the Ottoman Empire were great horse lovers. In their stables special Arabian horses were bred. The sultan's herd was a great temptation for proficient horse thieves. In *Săcală's song*, the brave thief, riding a black Dobrudja horse, compels the guardian of the sultan's herd to tell him which is the most important horse, he rides it runs away, luring all the other horses to follow him. This technique is widely described also in fairy-tales. However, the courage of the thief is cruelly repressed, when horses are recovered.

To recover his possession the horses' owner should be courageous and clever. He should know his animals, be able to read the traces left behind them in the hidden paths of the thicket. Special signs point to him whether the sorrel was stolen or ran away.

The lyrical song *Spune, spune, moş bătrân* (Tell, do tell old man), a relatively new song, maybe from the beginning of the 20th century, is a genuine glorification of the skill of a horse thief, voicing the pride of the trade. This text aptly characterizes the pride and dignity of an old horse thief, a master in this knowledge and experience. The old man is arrested for having stolen a „young colt", which he sold „with no price". He is investigated and asked „when are horses stolen". The expert in stealing recommends a night with lightnings, when light alternates with darkness, when the herd may be seen and the thieves may hide themselves, or while the storm wipes away traces and compels horses to come together and be more easily controlled. The authority that has arrested him does not frighten him and he is not interested in the fact that he infringes the law, as a delinquent. The old man boasts about his possible achievements if he will be free: „Let me be free up to

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

sunset and I will bring you the mother of horses, the father of colts and their herdsman".

The texts in the thematic group called here *The ballads of the horse thieves* do not present the complexes or frustrations of some *marginals*, as could be expected, perhaps, but they extol the characters who are in command of their knowledge and pride themselves on their „professional" deeds, proving to be great lovers and admirers of that noble animal.

Horse thieves have not acted for long and their skill is no longer used. But their songs are still alive, to extol the courage and expertise of a true horse thief, who prizes and loves the stolen animal. One can still record the personal memories of some old horse breeders, who kept their herds free in the marshes close to big rivers – now reclaimed – and crossed the Danube, or went to the Black Sea Coast to get rid of their pursuers. In some distant localities young people still race horses on the Epiphany or on St George's Day. In Romania, horses are still used in the homestead, for local transport and, certainly, for riding. The longer they will be kept close to man, the more they will help us keep in mind the long endeavour to tame, master and change nature, and help us go on respecting these creatures that inspired man to obtain various technical performances.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

**Amzulescu**, Al. I. 1981, *Cântecul epic eroic. Tipologie şi corpus de texte poetice* [The Epic-Heroic Song: Typology and Poetical Texts], Bucureşti: Editura Academiei RSR.

**Amzulescu**, Al. I. 1983, *Balada familială. Tipologie şi corpus de texte poetice* [The Familiy Ballad: Typology and Poetical Texts], Bucureşti: Editura Academiei RSR.

**Brătulescu, Monica**, 1981, *Colinda românească. The Romanian*, Colinda (Winter-Solstice Sougs), Bucureşti.

**Durand, Gilbert**, 1977, *Structurile antropologice ale imaginarului*, Introducere în arhetipologia generală [The Anthropological Structures of the Imaginary: Introduction into the General Arche-Typology]. Traducere de Marcel Aderca. Prefaţă şi postfaţă de Radu Toma, Bucureşti.

**Foucault**, Michel 1999, *Les anormaux*. Cours au Collège de France, 1974-1975, Seuil/Gallimard, Paris.

**Geremek**, Bronislaw 1999, *Marginalul* [The Marginal], in Jacques Le Goff (ed.), *Omul Medieval* [The Medieval Man], Iaşi: Polirom.

**Le Goff**, Jacques 1979, *Les marginaux dans l'Occident médiéval*, in *Les marginaux et les exclus dans l'histoire*, „Cahiers Jussieu" No 5, Université Paris 7: Union Générale d'Editions.

**Livadă-Cadeschi**, Ligia 1993, *Marginali şi marginalizaţi în Principate la sfârşitul veacului XVIII şi începutul veacului XIX. Atitudinea statului* [Marginals and Marginalized People in the Principalities by the end of the 18th Century and Beginning of the 19th Century. The State's Standpoint], „Anuarul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj-Napoca", XXXIII.

**Mazilu**, Dan Horia 2006, *Lege şi fărădelege în lumea românească veche* [Law and Criminality in the Old Romanian World], Iaşi: Polirom.

**Schmitt**, Jean-Claude 1988, *L'Histoire de marginaux*, in Jacques Le Goff (ed.), *La nouvelle histoire*, Paris: Éditions Complexe, p. 277-305.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

# SOURCES ETHNOGRAPHIQUES ET IMAGE ARTISTIQUE DANS LA CULTURE VISUELLE ROUMAINE DU XIX$^{e}$ SIÈCLE

MARIANA VIDA

Il y a des références ethnographiques dans beaucoup d'œuvres d'art[1]. Même si elles n'apparaissent pas explicitement, elles se relèvent dans la manière même dans laquelle l'artiste fait le choix du motif, du cadrage, du style pictural ou de la facture. Les sources ethnographiques provenant des images artistiques concernant les Pays Roumaines au XIX$^{e}$ siècle sont d'une variété impressionnante et par une reconstitution systématique on peut dresser un tableau vivant de la vie matérielle et spirituelle du temps passées. Le document ethnographique parcourt une série de transformations essentielles tout le long du XIX$^{e}$ siècle, du simple enregistrement pris *in situ* jusqu'à sa sublimation dans l'amalgame d'une vision artistique originale, toujours cadrées par les transfigurations de l'histoire des styles.

Dans la galerie iconographique du XIX$^{e}$ siècle, le témoin ethnographique, associé à celui stylistique, compose une histoire de l'identité roumaine. Le présent ouvrage met en pratique une exploration de l'art roumain du XIX$^{e}$ siècle et les sources ethnographiques du point de vue de l'évolution des styles dans le contexte européen. Signe culturel complexe, l'œuvre d'art fait appel à des conventions qui transfèrent la vérité objective dans le domaine de l'imaginaire, de telle manière que l'image devienne un témoin marqué par une certaine distorsion par rapport à son modèle. Grâce au contexte historique et stylistique, à la vision de l'artiste ou à la technique utilisée par celui-ci, le modèle se transforme petit à petit, pour en devenir un double d'une autre nature que celle saisie au début par les sens, ayant la capacité de l'inscrire dans d'autres territoires ou médias[2].

---

[1] Cet article est un fragment d'une thèse de doctorat au même titre, préparée sous la direction du professeur universitaire dr. Silviu Angelescu, à l'Institut d'Ethnographie et Folklore «C. Brăiloiu» de Bucarest.

[2] Voir Silviu Angelescu, *Portretul literar* [Le portrait littéraire], Bucureşti, Editura Univers, 1985, p. 8-13.

REF/JEF, *2*, p. 273–296, Bucureşti, 2007

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

L'œuvre d'art relève les étapes d'un processus de formation qui indique les confins du descriptif, et qui, rapportées à une grille d'interprétation, structurent les éléments constitutifs par rapport au progrès technologique. Nous nous référons surtout à l'apparition de la photographie et aux transformations que cette technique provoque dans la substance même de la composition de l'image et aussi dans le domaine concernant la réception par le publique. Quant aux certains limites de l'image demandées par la fidélité de la représentation, elles sont imposées soit par le talent de l'auteur même ou par l'intention poursuivie, soit par l'appartenance à une certaine orientation stylistique, qui constitue un sorte de programme, qui forme d'avance, consciemment ou non, la vision artistique. Les problèmes de l'image se transforment donc par rapport aux fonctions de leurs poids sémantique incombés par les sujets figurés. Les modifications peuvent être suivies clairement tout au long du XIX$^{e}$ siècle, dans les étapes historiques traversées par l'art documentaire, mais aussi par l'art ayant un degré accrû d'autonomie. Les modifications du paradigme stylistique changent aussi l'interprétation des données visuelles des documents ethnographiques représentés, par relation aux coordonnées de l'histoire des styles dans lesquelles se situent les artistes, tout en tenant compte, après les conventions esthétiques différentes d'une époque à l'autre, du degré d'originalité de la personnalité de chaque auteur et quelquefois des exigences du commanditaire, éléments qui apportent des mutations dans la substance de l'image. Lorsqu'on parcourt *le corpus* documentaire et artistique composé d'un vaste ensemble d'images de diverses catégories, on est saisi par la modalité dont elles sont conditionnées tant du point de vue culturel que par rapport aux moyens de compréhension de la vie par les artistes dans le contexte d'une civilisation.

L'image artistique forme ainsi un témoin, dont la structure réunit des éléments différents ayant la disposition de surprendre: a) les aspects de système, lorsqu'on suit l'image selon la synchronie: formes de vie (rituelles ou non rituelles) ou une structure sociale (classes, âges, occupations); b) les aspects d'un processus, c'est-à-dire les moments en cours d'une transformation, lorsqu'on étudie l'image du point de vue diachronique (la mode et le costume à travers les époques, les moyens de transport etc.).

En ce qui concerne le problème de la fidélité des images relativement à leur valeur comme témoin, la typologie des sources peut être analysée en fonction du statut de l'auteur (*artistes voyageurs*, sensibles à tout ce qu'ils enregistraient en passant, *artistes topographes*, ayant la mission précise de décrire les réalités telles qu'elles se présentaient sur place, *artistes étrangers* qui se sont acclimatés dans les Principautés Roumaines, qui appliquent des principes assimilés dans les académies d'art européennes, pour les commanditaires roumains, et enfin, *artistes autochtones* de naissance illustre ou d'origine modeste).

En Roumanie, les recherches sur l'histoire des styles sont approfondies dans les dernières années. Grâce à la libre circulation des gens, avant 1989 interdite par le régime totalitaire, de même que grâce au changement de paradigme idéologique,

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

fondé dans notre cas sur les critères de l'anthropologie culturelle, on a opéré une évaluation significative de l'histoire de l'art du XIX^e^ siècle. On a reconsidérée ainsi l'ensemble des problèmes concernant les styles internationaux (Néoclassicisme, Biedermeier, Romantisme, Naturalisme ou Symbolisme) et par conséquent le problème du centre et périphérie, du style métropolitain et de la province[3]. On a remarqué que ce rapport, où le centre est le créateur d'une unité singulière et cohérente qui active la périphérie, est surtout dynamique, quelquefois conflictuel, dans la mesure dans laquelle la domination symbolique du centre impose des modèles stylistiques et iconographiques formulés d'avance. C'est en fait un rapport entre innovation et retardement, mais aussi entre tradition et besoin de changement, tel le cas de la révolution de '48 qui a déterminé dans les trois provinces roumaines des transformations stylistiques radicales.

La situation des Pays Roumaines c'est l'un des plus complexe du point de vue géopolitique, car il y avait trois provinces distinctes, soumises aux trois grands centres d'irradiation: la Transylvanie par l'appartenance à l'empire des Habsbourgs, et qui ouvrait les voise d'accès vers Vienne, et plus loin vers l'Europe Occidentale, puis la Moldavie vers l'empire Russe, et enfin la Valachie par le Danube, vers l'empire Ottoman et Constantinople. Jusqu'à l'Union de 1859 de la Moldavie avec la Valachie, les contrées roumains ont été des lieux exotiques, peu connus et dont les diverses voyageurs (membres des expéditions scientifiques, topographes ou simplement touristes) ont fait leur description à la commande des trois grands empires hégémoniques cités plus haut. Les Provinces Roumaines étaient des zones pour la plupart agricoles, où l'industrie apparaissait à peine et qui gardent tout le long du XIX^e^ siècle une typologie rurale très puissante. Dans ce contexte d'une forte composante traditionaliste, l'art de cour, héritée du Moyen Âge, devient petit à petit provincial. Les artistes autochtones, pour la plupart des peintres d'églises et d'icônes, font face aux besoins restreints d'une commande modeste et d'un goût réduit[4].

Conservateur des coutumes et des traditions archaïques, l'industrie domestique rurale assurait, suivant les chemins et les recettes patriarcales vérifiées, les besognes d'une communauté dont les normes esthétiques avaient été structurés et décantés pendant une longue période[5]. Si nous allons essayer à diviser une époque en périodes d'évolution de la qualité de témoin du document ethnographique au XIX^e^ siècle (tout en évitant l'idée de progrès dans le domaine de l'art tant contesté et de bonne raison), on peut différencier trois grandes étapes: la

[3] Voir Enrico Castelnuovo, Carlo Ginzburg, *Dominaţie simbolică şi geografie artistică în istoria artei italiene* [Domination symbolique et géographie artistique dans l'histoire de l'art italien], dans le volume *Sociologia percepţiei artistice* [Sociologie de la perception artistique], Bucureşti, Editura Meridiane, 1991, p. 220-266.

[4] Voir *Les Français et la Roumanie*, textes choisis par Paul Desfeuilles et Jacques Lassaigne, Bucarest, 1937, surtout la deuxième partie, intitulée *Portrait de la Roumanie*, p. 195-354.

[5] Voir aussi Silviu Angelescu, *Mitul şi literatura* [Le mythe et la littérature], Bucureşti, Editura Cartex, 1995 (réedition, Editura Univers Enciclopedic, 1999).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

première entre 1800 et 1828 (le début du siècle et la paix d'Andrinople qui amène l'occupation russe et une nouvelle modalité d'organisation administrative et aussi la mode et les mœurs européennes); la deuxième, entre 1828-1830 et 1859, lorsqu'on cherche un langage et une iconographie commune (c'est maintenant que fait son apparition l'image des deux pays, la Moldavie et la Valachie sous le visage de deux jeunes filles en habit national). Enfin, la troisième, entre 1859 et 1900, sera dominée par la personnalité de Nicolae Grigorescu qui, intuitivement, va donner une solution originale au problème de la spécificité identitaire, thème des ardents débats aussi dans la première moitie du XX$^{e}$ siècle.

À la première phase appartiennent les artistes voyageurs attirés par le mirage de l'Orient, poussés par l'ascension de Napoléon I$^{er}$ ou par sa chute, les topographes de l'empire des Habsbourgs, ou participants aux expéditions scientifiques, initiés par des mécènes. Ce sont des artistes appartenant à une catégorie hétérogène, génériquement surnommés «documentalistes»[6], car l'information interprétée par eux a pour la plupart un caractère strictement documentaire. La géographie des lieux, l'architecture, le costume, la vie et les mœurs sont souvent traduits aléatoirement; les grandes maisons d'éditions européennes publient sans réserve des recueils d'images pleins d'exotisme sur ces endroits situés aux Portes de l'Orient[7].

C'est le moment où on assiste à une transformation radicale des mentalités, quand l'ancien mode de vie oriental est abandonné en faveur des mœurs et habitudes européennes. Une longue série de commanditaires apparaissent, provenant de l'aristocratie et de grands commerçants, qui tout en renonçant au portrait votif, peints sur les murs des églises, ordonnent d'imposants portraits à l'huile, images qu'ils peuvent exposer sur les murs de leurs propres salons pour en étaler leur origine, leurs goûts, leurs voyages, leurs statut social et cultural. Ils patronnent les artistes étrangers et autochtones, tout en incarnant les premières formes de mécénat. C'est le cas d'artistes renommés, tels que Giovanni Schiavoni en Moldavie, qui par suite des solutions trop radicales et trop novatrices vont se faire renvoyés par leurs commanditaires autochtones, doués d'un niveau d'exigence trop bas.

Dans la deuxième étape, marquée par l'année révolutionnaire de 1848 dans toute l'Europe, et puis concentrée sur l'Union des Principautés Roumaines en

---

[6] Voir G. Oprescu, *Ţările Române văzute de artişti francezi* [Les Pays Roumains vus par les artistes français], Editura Cultura Naţională, Bucureşti, 1926 *et* Adrian Silvan-Ionescu, *Artă şi document. Arta documentaristă în România secolului al XIX-lea* [Art et document. L'Art documentaire en Roumanie au XIXe siècle], Bucureşti, 1990.

[7] Voir entre autre J. Alazard, *L'Orient et la peinture française au XIX$^{e}$ siècle, d'Eugène Delacroix à Auguste Renoir*, Paris, 1930, Gerard-Georges Lemaire, *The Orient in the Western Art.* Préface par Geneviève Lacambre, Editura Könemann, München, 2005, Gerald M. Ackerman, *Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904)*, ACR, 1997. Concernant la littérature voir aussi l'étude assez récent de Viorica S. Constantinescu, *Exotismul în literatura română din secolul al XIX-lea* [L'Exotisme dans la littérature roumaine du XIX$^{e}$ siècle], Iaşi, Editura Universităţii «Al. I.Cuza», 1998, le chapitre sur les genres de l'exotique, p. 31-85.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

1859, prennent forme les symboles iconographiques qui vont persister jusqu'au XX[e] siècle. Sous l'impacte crée par l'intérêt romantique pour l'histoire médiévale mais aussi pour celle récente, immédiate, on assiste au réveil de la conscience nationale. Les artistes autochtones, formés aux écoles des beaux-arts de France et d'Italie, commencent à illustrer les moments héroïques de la vie d'Étienne le Grand ou Michel le Brave, figures clefs de la lutte des Roumains pour leur liberté nationale. Munis par la conscience d'un passé glorieux, les artistes composent des recueils sur le costume ou sur les monuments en voie de disparition. Le voyage, ayant comme but de trouver des coins pittoresques (*Malerische Reise*) est désormais centrée sur la présentation de la vie rurale et les femmes patriotes de grands boyards, découvrent la beauté et la richesse du costume populaire roumain.

L'étape entre 1859 et 1900 est marquée par d'importants événements historiques, comme l'arrivée du prince Charles de Hohenzollern en 1866 comme prince Régnant et l'établissement d'une nouvelle dynastie. Ce fait a entraîné une série de transformations qui a touché aussi la vie artistique du pays, sensiblement modifiée après l'institution des deux écoles de beaux-arts à Bucarest et à Iassy dès 1864. L'enseignement artistique avait débuté sous les auspices du Néoclassicisme, l'état d'âme romantique étant remplacé par l'étude académique des antiquités ou les sources médiévales roumaines (qui se trouvaient en abondance dans les archives françaises ou à la Bibliothèque Nationale). La codification de la typologie des œuvres et la centralisation de l'enseignement artistique ont favorisé la diffusion d'un répertoire formel internationalisé. D'autre part, le prince Charles de Hohenzollern, amateur d'art et collectionneur avisé, et sa femme, la future reine Elisabeth, ont compris dès le début de leur règne le rôle et l'importance du mécénat artistique et ont soutenu un art officiel destiné à consolider l'image de la monarchie et à relever ses liens avec le peuple.

L'architecture et l'art populaire deviennent des thèmes d'études pour les peintres qui se rendent compte qu'il y a aussi dans le pays des sujets authentiques et pleines de charme. («J'ai cru que notre patrie présente assez de sujets digne d'être étudiés, assez de beautés originales et artistiques qui correspondrait dignement pour n'importe quelle galerie d'un musée du monde occidental», affirmait Nicolae Grigorescu dans une lettre pour le Ministre de l'Instruction Publique, le 13 Juin 1864). C'est l'époque quand on dresse une iconographie inspirée de la vie rurale. La naissance, le mariage, la mort, les danses, les retours des champs ou du pâturage, les foires animés par la présence de plusieurs personnages habillés en de riches costumes de toutes les provinces, s'assemblent dans un répertoire visuel nouveau, où le témoin ethnographique a un rôle essentiel.

L'image plastique est une source ethnographique de premier rang, qui offre des informations relatives à un grand nombre d'éléments composant l'identité sociale et culturale des époques. Les données offertes sont multiples et sont redevables principalement au degré de distorsion et de filtrage opéré par chaque artiste par rapport à sa culture, son talent et aussi par les demandes, la culture et la

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

tolérance du commanditaire. La valeur de témoin de l'image este déterminée par plusieurs facteurs résultant de la fidélité de l'enregistrement du document ethnographique par les artistes, fidélité qui opère dans les divers degrés dans l'action d'élaborer le sujet, de la description quasi exacte (qui peut quelquefois utiliser la photographie pour augmenter l'authenticité du démarche), jusqu'aux transfigurations très personnelles, avec une stylistique hors pair, comme celle du Theodor Aman, Carol Pop de Szathmari, Nicolae Grigorescu ou Ştefan Luchian. De sorte qu'on établit une grille sui generis, centrée sur le style de l'auteur, son orientation, sa culture, la technique développée et l'intention poursuivie. Cette grille est déterminée aussi pare le commanditaire, étant, selon le cas, artistique ou documentaire. Quelquefois ces éléments s'entremêlent, comme dans le cas de la fameuse collaboration du peintre Henri Trenk et du savant archéologue Alexandru Odobescu[8].

Dans une catégorie intitulée «typologie des images» on réunit les diverses techniques d'enregistrement du spectacle visuel: la peinture, le dessin, la gravure ainsi que la photographie, procédés par lesquels on a transmis d'une génération à l'autre les compositions à caractère ethnographique et documentaire. En ce qui concerne les genres assimilés on note le portrait (dans les œuvres de Anton Chladek, Giovanni Schiavoni, Niccolò Livaditti, Ion Negulici, Constantin Daniel Rosenthal, Barbu Iscovescu, Mişu Popp, Theodor Aman et autres); le paysage avec personnages, ou le paysage structuré, avec décor architectural (Carol Pop de Szathmari, Nicolae Grigorescu, Sava Henţia); le genre (Amedeo Preziosi, Emil Volkers, Henri Trenk) ; la composition historique (Constantin Lecca, Theodor Aman, G. D. Mirea); la nature morte (Constantin Stahi). On a de même porté une attention spéciale aux témoignages ethnographiques qui peuvent être prélevées des lithographies (incunables lithographiques et exemplaires rares), œuvres appartenant aux artistes pérégrins (Michel Bouquet, Théodore Valério, Alfred Kunicke, Alois von Saar et autres).

Quant à la «typologie de l'information», concernant la culture matérielle de l'époque, qui constitue la source principale qui s'offrait aux artistes à décrire et ensuite à transfigurer, l'analyse se concentre sur les éléments d'habit et costume traditionnel, ainsi que sur l'architecture et la décoration des intérieurs, les mœurs et les occupations tels qu'ils apparaissent dans les œuvres de Theodor Aman, Carol Pop de Szathmari ou Nicolae Grigorescu. D'ailleurs Nicolae Grigorescu est le créateur des modèles iconographiques pénétrés dans la conscience de gens et qui ont modelé pour une longue période la perception et le goût du publique roumain. Ainsi, aux sources ethnographiques, vues de la perspective de l'évolution des

[8] MNAR [*Muzeul Naţional de Artă al României* – Musée National d'Art de la Roumanie], Henri Trenk, *Albumul arheologic şi pitoresc al mănăstirilor din districtele Argeş şi Vâlcea* [Album archéologique et pittoresque des monastères des districts d'Argeş et Vâlcea], (106 planches). Voir aussi *Henri Trenk şi arta restituirii tezaurelor* [Henri Trenk et l'art de la restitution des trésors], (Catalogue par Marica Grigorescu), Bucureşti, MNAR, 1992.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

styles, sont dédiées une analyse combinatoire, du point de vue de l'histoire de l'art et de l'ethnographie, des sources visuelles et artistiques, en mesure d'offrir des informations partielles, pour dresser une vision de nature ethnographique sur le XIX[e] siècle. On cite ici les artistes voyageurs comme W. H. Bartlett, Auguste Raffet, Paul Thumann, J. Wimer[9] et autres, pour en extraire de leur œuvre documentaire les données de la vie publique roumaine de l'époque, qui au delà du pittoresque des scènes sont riches en renseignements sur le costume, la vie et les mœurs de la société des Pays Roumaines.

En ce qui intéresse les sources ethnographiques étudiées du point de vue de la succession des styles, un travail systématique devra présenter chronologiquement le Biedermeier, le Romantisme, l'Académisme, le Naturalisme et l'Impressionnisme, l'Historisme, le Symbolisme et L'Art Nouveau, en analysant l'activité des artistes représentatifs. On mentionne que ces styles ne se manifestent d'une manière unitaire et distincte, de sorte qu'il y existe plusieurs interférences et connexions. Quand même, on peut signaler comme appartenant au style Biedermeier les artistes comme Mihail Töpler, Franz Neuhauser cel Tânăr, Giovanni Schiavoni, Niccolò Livaditti, Josef August Schöfft, Miklos Barabás, Carol Wallenstein, Mihail Dan, Petre Mateescu et autres. Quant au Romantisme (plutôt un état d'âme qu'un style clairement délimité), comme un cas emblématique, nous proposons un artiste complexe: Carol Pop de Szathmari. Possédé par le souffle romantique, il était à la fois peintre et photographe, rapporteur de guerre et collectionneur d'images ethnographiques. Gheorghe Tattarescu, Theodor Aman et G. Demetrescu Mirea sont placés, grâce au certaines composantes de leur œuvre, dans le cadre de l'Académisme. En ce qui concerne le Naturalisme et l'Impressionnisme, concepts stylistiques qui interfèrent partiellement, nous proposons les images de Nicolae Grigorescu et Ioan Andreescu. Les informations ethnographiques qu'ils rendent sont d'une manière médiate, de même que les orientations symbolistes et de l'Art Nouveau de la fin du siècle, par lesquelles on effectue un changement de paradigme et le passage vers la modernité.

L'usage de la photographie comme source documentaire pour les accessoires et les typologies de la deuxième moitié du XIX[e] siècle, est un sujet encore assez peu étudié en Roumanie. De toute façon on peut se documenter sur la modalité dans laquelle des artistes tels que Theodor Aman ont utilisé des motifs extraits des compositions photographiques de Szathmari ou vraisemblablement d'Alexandru Bellu, pour assembler leurs compositions aux sujets rustiques[10]. Le goût des artistes

[9] Voir *Surse etnografice românești în grafica europeană a secolului al XIX-lea. I.1800-1859* [Sources ethnographiques roumains dans l'art graphique européenne du XIX[e] siècle. 1800 - 1859], (Catalogue par Mariana Vida), Bucureşti, MNAR, février - juin 2004.

[10] Voir Constantin Săvulescu, *Cronologia ilustrată a fotografiei din România* [La Chronologie ilustrée de la photographie en Roumanie: l'époque de 1834-1916], Bucureşti, 1985; Karin Schuller-Procopovici, *Ein Land aus dem Bilderbuch. Das Rumänienalbum des Carol Szathmari (1812-1887)*, dans *Salz und Silber. Zur Früzeit der Photographie im deutschen Sprachraum, 1839-1860*, (Catalogue), Köln und Heidelberg, 1989 p. 438 - 45. Voir aussi dans la revue *Arta* les articles de:

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

roumains pour l'Orient fournit aussi des informations concernant le mode de vie oriental, avec l'ensemble de mœurs, costumes et mentalités qui présumaient une longue vie en commun.

Le cas Biedermeier-Romantisme est singulier, les deux catégories étant à la fois les deux facettes des mêmes aspirations. Né de la réaction contre la rigidité néo-classique, mais nourri de sa rigueur technique et de son intérêt marquant vers le document relatif à la fidélité de la représentation de l'antiquité, le romantisme traverse, du point de vue de la théorie du croissance, applicable pour tous les styles artistiques, une période d'enfance, de maturité et de décadence. Dès sa période précoce, le Romantisme a une double caractéristique, l'une idéale et aventurière et l'autre, pragmatique, liée à l'univers domestique. Les artistes héros, qui ont participé aux guerres napoléoniennes et ceux qui ont pris part aux bouleversements des années 1830 et 1848 sont les représentants du romantisme, de l'enthousiasme et de l'envergure pendant que les petits maîtres, les naturalistes et les écrivains occasionnels sont pour la plupart des artistes Biedermeier, des observateurs paisibles, d'expression équilibrée. Les sources ethnographiques concernant le costume, le travail, les mœurs sont pour la grande majorité d'origine Biedermeier, classifiées et analysées soigneusement dans les portraits et les collections de costumes. Le paysage sera surtout l'apanage des artistes romantiques, genre cultivé passionnément, tout en relevant une nouvelle empathie de l'homme avec la nature.

Les prémisses de la typologie des images documentaires artistiques ont été longuement filtrés dans l'ambiance provinciale de nos pays, ou les échos stylistiques de l'Occident européen ont connu des retardements spectaculaires, d'approximatif un ou quelquefois deux décennies, mais aussi des situations

---

Radu Ionescu, *Fotografia românească în secolul al XIX-lea* [La Photographie roumaine au XIXe siècle], nos. 7-8, 1982, p. 20-22; Anca Oroveanu, *Fotografia (1839-1989)* [La Photographie. 1839-1989], no. 10, 1989, p. 23-26; Ruxandra Balaci, *Câteva considerații cu privire la fotografie ca artă* [Quelques considérations sur la photographie comme œuvre d'art], no. 10, 1989, p. 27; Adrian-Silvan Ionescu, *Fotografia în secolul al XIX-lea: genuri, teme, compoziții artiști* [La Photographie au XIX$^{e}$ siècle: genres, thèmes, compositions, artistes], no. 8, 1989, p. 19-21; idem, *Arta portretului în fotografia secolului al XIX-lea* [L'Art du portrait dans la photographie du XIX$^{e}$ siècle], dans „Studii și cercetări de istoria artei" [Études et recherches d'histoire de l'art], tom 34, 1987; idem, *Începuturile fotografiei etnografice în România* [Les Débuts de la photographie ethnographique en Roumanie], dans „Revista muzeelor" [Revue des musées], nr. 1, 199, p. 51-62. Pour l'activité de Charles Pop de Szathmari comme photographe voir aussi: *Fotografii de Carol Popp de Szathmari* [Photographies par *Carol Popp de Szathmari*] (Catalogue par Ruxandra Balaci), București, MNAR, mars-avril 1992; *Uralkodók festje fényképésze Szathmári Pap Károly* [Szathmari Pap Károly, peintre et photographe des princes roumains], Magyar Fotográfiai Múzeum, 2001, avec une ample bibliographie; *Expoziția Carol Pop de Szathmari (1812-1887). Martor al epocii* [L'Exposition Carol Pop de Szathmari (1812-1887). Témoin de son époque] (Catalogue supervisé par Adrian Silvan-Ionescu), Muzeul Militar Național, 26 septembre 2002 - avril 2003. En ce qui concerne l'œuvre d'Alexandru Bellu, voir l'excellent aperçu de Petre Costinescu, *Un fotograf de la sfârșitul veacului trecut. Alexandru Bellu* [Un photographe à la fin du siècle passé. Alexandru Bellu], București, Editura Sport-Turism, 1987.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

d'exceptionnel synchronisme tel le cas de Theodor Aman, qui a resserré des étapes presque insurmontables dans une originale synthèse picturale[11].

Une catégorie significative d'informations propose les arts populaires tangentiels à l'art culte, en fait les icônes sur verre et les xylographies. Les livres religieux ornés de gravures sur bois exécutés par les moines des monastères de Neamț[12], Blaj ou Râmnic[13] ont offert des modèles d'une grande extension, aux sujets iconographiques très populaires dans le monde paysan, en Transylvanie surtout[14]. Adaptées au monde rustique et douées avec des pouvoirs magiques, les compositions des xylogravures, des icônes sur verre (travaillées selon une technique importée de Bohème)[15] ou les peintures murales des églises en bois de Maramures ou de Bihor, ont comme élément commun une stylisation lapidaire, la concision du message et de l'expression. Elles assimilent dans une conception iconographique épurée de toute ingérence inutile, une vision authentiquement décorative, filtrée par la mémoire de la rhétorique baroque. Dans les scènes comme „La Naissance de l'enfant Jésus", „La Vierge avec l'enfant" ou „Saint Georges assommant le dragon" apparaissent des détails de costume (des chemises traditionnels roumains, des haut képis et panaches du costume militaire autrichien etc.) ou des descriptions autonomes, tels le cas des planches qui représentent un couple des nobles hongrois ou la composition de Pop Onisie, figurant deux personnages du théâtre populaire (Pista et Mariska)[16].

Les collections de costumes ont constitué une occupation constante de générations d'artistes du XIX[e] siècle, munis par la charge d'y figurer le plus fidèlement possible l'Antiquité ou le Moyen Âge dans la peinture d'histoire. Souvent les compositions étaient traitées selon l'esprit contemporain, les héros des scènes étant habillés selon la mode du temps. Dès la fin du XVIIe siècle le vêtement d'apparat, le costume compliqué et coûteux de la noblesse, surtout française, fournit l'apparition des albums avec des types particuliers qui en peu de temps seront descendus des palais dans les rues animés par des personnages pittoresques. Un tel exemple c'est la série réalisée par Jean-Baptiste Bonnart (1654-1726), peintre et graveur du Roi, où, auprès d'une grande dame costumée dans une élégante robe d'été sont représentés le porteur d'eau ou la marchande des

[11] Voir Radu Bogdan, *Theodor Aman,* Bucureşti, 1955; *Centenar Theodor Aman*, Bucureşti; Mariana Vida, *Theodor Aman Gravor* [Theodor Aman Graveur], Bucureşti, Artis, 1993.

[12] Gheorghe Racoveanu, *Gravura în lemn la Mănăstirea Neamțul* [La Gravure sur bois au Monastère de Neamț], Bucureşti, Fundația regală pentru literatură şi artă, 1940.

[13] G. Oprescu, *Grafica românească în secolul la XIX-lea* [L'Art graphique au XIX[e] siècle], vol. I, Bucureşti, Fundația regală pentru literatură şi artă, 1942 (le chapitre *La Gravure sur bois comme illustration du livre ancien*, p. 131-211).

[14] Voir *Xilogravura populară din Transilvania în secolele XVII - XIX* [Les xylogravures populaires de Transylvanie du XVII[e] au XIX[e] siècles] (Catalogue par Marica Grigorescu), Bucureşti, Muzeul de Artă al RPR, 1970.

[15] Iuliana Fabritius Dancu, *Icoane pe sticlă* [Icônes sur verre], Bucureşti, Editura Meridiane, 1970.

[16] Voir *Repertoriul graficii româneşti din secolul al XIX-lea* [Répertoire de l'art graphique roumain du XIX[e] siècle], Bucureşti, Muzeul de Artă al RSR, vol II, 1975, nr. 2226 et 2232.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

balais[17]. Les figures ont un rendu minutieux ayant les attributs de leur petit commerce sur un arrière-plan neutre, avec une explication en vers. Ce modèle va se perpétuer du XVII[e] au XIXe siècles et constitue une composante décisive des scènes de genre Biedermeier.

Les sources ethnographiques concernant les Pays Roumains sont riches, la quantité d'information étant différente d'une région à l'autre. Pour la Transylvanie y existent les „Trachtenkabinett"[18], des collections systématiques d'images documentaires dans lesquels les divers auteurs ont décrit scrupuleusement des typologies et costumes des Saxons, des Hongrois ou des Roumains. En l'absence des inventaires les informations croissent après 1821 et la paix d'Andrinople de 1828, lorsque l'Empire Ottoman est obligé d'accepter les princes d'origine roumaine et l'ouverture des Principautés Danubiennes vers une économie qui va dès lors s'occidentaliser. Souvent les croquis ou les études prises devant le motif étaient travaillés par les graveurs et ensuite multipliés dans les imprimeries et implicitement popularisés.

Un diplomate entreprenant, à la fois écrivain, a été Charles de Ferriol, marquis d'Argentan, l'ambassadeur de France à Constantinople. Il commanda à Jean-Baptiste van Mour (1671-1737) la splendide suite des costumes d'Orient, *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant,* Paris, 1712-1713[19]. Les graveurs Bernard Baron (1696-1762), Paul Rochefort (1675-1728) ou Jean-Baptiste Haussard ont exécuté les cuivres pour *Gentilhomme Valaque, Princesse de Valachie* ou *Demoiselle de Valachie*[20], compositions qui restent de remarquables documents aux sujets roumains, par le soin du détail de longs costumes fourrés, avec de riches soies ou des typologies orientales avec des grands yeux langoureux.

Sur la route vers Constantinople, Palestine ou Tibet, les voyageurs étrangers passent inévitablement par le Danube, vers la mer Noire, font des relais à Bucarest ou à Iassy sur le chemin de la Russie. Ainsi plusieurs images gardent souvent les perspectives des localités parsemées sur le long du Danube. Les albums avec des vues gravées ou lithographiées (remplacés plus tard par les albums de

[17] Collection du Musée National d'Art de Roumanie (ensuite MNAR), Cabinet des dessins et des gravures: inv.no. 35753 et 35755, burins, 1694. Voir aussi François Courboin, *Histoire illustrée de la gravure en France*, Maurice Le Garrec, Paris, 1923/1929, vol II.

[18] Eugen Barbul, *Costume româneşti din veacul al XVII-lea* (Costumes roumains du XIX[e] siècle), Biblioteca Universităţii din Cluj, Cluj, 1935, p. 4. Voir aussi les recueils *Köstumbilderbuch XVII Jahre* conservés à la Bibliothèque de Graz (Autriche) constitués de 99 aquarelles avec femmes et hommes de diverses contrées de Transylvaine, de la Moldavie, de Bucarest et de Turquie, *Köstume Bilder am Siebenbürgen. Tabulae pictae et coloratae*, 91 aquarelles avec costumes et portraits des princes de Transylvanie qui se trouvent à la Bibliothèque de la Galerie Nationale Hongroise de Budapest.

[19] Voir aussi Eugen Lovinescu, *Les Voyageurs français en Grèce au XIXe siècle*, Paris, 1909.

[20] B. Baron d'après Jean-Baptiste van Mour, *Gentilhomme valaque*, burin, MNAR inv. no. 1221; P. Rochefort, *Princesse de Valachie* (Madame Pulcheria, la femme de Nicolae Mavrocordat, prince régnant phanariote, morte en 1716), MNAR inv. no. 1223 ; Jean-Baptiste Haussard, *Demoisellede Valachie*, burin, inv. no. 1222.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

photographies) étaient des vrais substituts des excursions pittoresques dans des contrées étrangères. C'était une mode qui venait d'Angleterre, lorsque les fêtes de Noël arrivaient on faisait cadeau les *keepsakes*, des recueils hétéroclites de souvenirs littéraires et visuelles.

Toujours avide de nouvelles informations destinées à satisfaire la curiosité, le collectionneur d'images trouve son chemin vers les Pays Roumains. Situés à la proximité d'Orient, dominés à l'époque par l'Empire Ottoman, elles constituaient un charmant territoire exotique pour les dénicheurs d'inédit et pour les hauts fonctionnaires des pouvoirs étrangères, une heureuse opportunité de faire connaître dans leurs pays d'origine des dates topographiques et ethnographiques des Principautés. L'intérêt de l'Occident envers la région des Balkans s'accroît à mesure que l'Empire Ottoman est de plus en plus en décadence et qu'il ouvre sans cesse les frontières pour les voyageurs. Le mystérieux Orient dévoile ses secrets face aux expéditions scientifiques ou simplement touristiques. Munis par une observation précise, les artistes voyageurs ont présenté, plus ou moins artistiquement, les vues et les typologies humaines rencontrées le long de ces périples aventureux, pour la plupart composant une image cohérente de la vie des habitants des Pays Roumains du début du XIX$^{e}$ siècle. Ces documents visuels disparates dressent ainsi une représentation homogène, marqué par la vision romantique sur l'histoire et par la conception endettée à la mythologie du spécifiques à ce moment. Les estampes les plus anciennes gardent la tradition des recueils anonymes de costumes de l'Europe Centrale, réalisées d'après les dessins exécutées *in situ.*

Le goût pour ce type de compositions y existe pendant tout le parcours du siècle et les images sont conçues dans des formules de plus en plus attractives, en intégrant aussi des paysages avec des gens figurés au travail ou aux fêtes [21]. La renommée de l'administration de l'Empire des Habsbourgs résidait dans l'ancien modèle roman en utilisant des équipes d'ingénieurs – topographes et de dessinateurs – paysagistes. Après avoir pris des croquis sur le vif, les artistes adaptaient le matériel dans l'atelier en lui rendant une vraie aura. Les paysages de Bucovine de Franz-Xavier Knapp, d'Alexander Trichtl en Transylvanie ou de Ludwig Erminy sur les rives du Danube montrent un perçant esprit d'observation, accentué par l'interprétation réaliste du détail et par la construction panoramique de l'image, des traits stylistiques particuliers à l'école hollandaise de paysage.

Parmi les dessinateurs étrangers qui ont traversé les Principautés Roumains, les Français ont eu, à coté des Autrichiens, la contribution la plus décisive vu la description des réalités autochtones. Des vrais artistes ethnographes, tels les

[21] *Views in Turkey in Europe and Asia, comprising Rumelia ,Bulgaria, Wallachia, Syria and Palestine,* selected from the collection of Sir Robert Ainslie, drawn by Luigi Meyer and engraved by William Watts, with an elucidative letter-press, Londra, 1801, apud Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria Românilor prin călători* [Histoire des Roumains par les voyageurs], Bucureşti, 1981, p. 402. Nous citons, par exemple, les deux aquarelles réalisées par Carol Pop de Szathmari et Amédeo Preziosi, d'après les modèles de Luigi Meyer: *Dâmboviţa lângă Biserica Radu Vodă* [Dâmboviţa près de l'église de Radu Vodă], (1868), inv. no. 2957 et *Pod peste Bucureşioara* [Pont sur la Bucureştioara], (1868), inv. no. 2997.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

peintres-graveurs et lithographes Auguste Raffet, Michel Bouquet ou Théodore Valério, ont enregistré dans de mémorables compositions (pour la plupart des lithographies, incunables ou post-incunables lithographiées), les traits spécifiques de la vie et des mœurs des Principautés. Suivant l'évolution de la technique lithographique on peut identifier plusieurs étapes successives: feuille imprimée en blanc et noir, feuille colorée à la main aux pochoirs avec des couleurs d'eau, et enfin celle imprimée en plusieurs couleurs typographiques (soit en deux couleurs soit en plusieurs couleurs complémentaires).

Ensuite, nous allons présenter alphabétiquement une série d'auteurs qui ont travaillé surtout des planches à l'eau-forte ou lithographie. On va commencer par un anonyme (actif à la fin du XVIII[e] siècle et au début du XIX[e] siècle) dont les planches font partie d'un *Trachtenkabinett. Femmes près Mehadia*[22] montre d'une manière idéalisée les femmes de la région de Banat, habillées dans le costume populaire traitée avec exactitude (le *opreg* ou un sorte de tablier avec des longs franges, la blouse spécifique, la veste en peau de mouton et la parure de la tête), de sorte qu'on peut en distinguer les particularités dans le costume traditionnel occasionnel aujourd'hui même.

William Henry Bartlett (1809-1854), peintre et dessinateur, a voyagé suivant le cours du Danube, de Orşova à Sulina, et a réalisé un album sur le Danube gravé avec William Mossman et publié à Londres en 1842. Ses images sont d'un grand intérêt documentaire tant pour le paysage pittoresque que pour les mœurs de la population roumaine. *Une noce à Orşova* [23] est une composition d'inspiration romantique qui mélange l'authentique avec l'imaginaire, en fait une idylle rurale ayant comme sujet une noce paysanne. Selon la tradition des fêtes hollandaises du XVII[e] siècle, le peintre présente la cour d'une ferme ou les gens qui dansent frénétiquement dans leurs costumes de fête, dans un paysage majestueux, dont les ruines rappellent un passé historique plein de grandeur.

Peintre, dessinateur graveur et lithographe, Auguste-Denis-Marie Raffet (1804-1860)[24] a été l'élève de Nicolas-Toussaint Charlet et du baron Gros. Ses deux maîtres étaient des fervents admirateurs de Napoléon I[er] et Raffet lui-même était le fils d'un brave soldat de l'armée de l'Empereur. C'est là la source de l'admiration et de la contribution décisive de Raffet à la consolidation de la mythologie napoléonienne par images. Les qualités d'habile dessinateur recommandent Raffet au prince russe Anatole Demidoff de San Donato, grand amateur d'art et mécène. Voyageur passionné il initia entre 1837-1838 une expédition scientifique dans la Russie et la Crimée confiant à Raffet l'enregistrement, comme dans un film, des moments du passage à travers l'Europe.

[22] MNAR, eau-forte coloriée à la main, inv. no. 11666.

[23] MNAR, gravure sur acier, coloriée à la main, inv. no. 11665

[24] Henri Beraldi, *Les Graveurs du XIX[e] siècle. Guide de l'amateur d'estampes modernes*, vol. I-XII, Paris, Librairie L. Conquet, 1885-1892, vol. IV, p. 115-121. Voir aussi Léonce Bénédite, *La Peinture au XIX[e] siècle*, Paris, E. Flammarion éditeur, f. a.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Entre le philanthrope et l'artiste naît une amitié qui durera jusqu'à la mort du peintre. Les plus belles aquarelles de Raffet ont été acquises pour la collection du palais de San Donato ou seront préservées jusqu'en 1870. Le résultat de ce travail est un inestimable *corpus* intitulé: *Voyage dans la Russie méridionale et la Crimée par la Hongrie, la Valachie et la Moldavie*[25].

Les voyages pluridisciplinaires sont devenus célèbres avec l'expédition de Napoléon I[er] en Egypte en 1796 et puis décrites avec un énorme succès dans la deuxième moitié du XIX[e] siècle par Jules Verne. Aux expéditions participaient savants et artistes (celle de Demidoff comprenait presque 22 membres) qui devaient faire face aux périls de toute sorte: le climat capricieux, les chemins difficiles, l'attaque des brigands ou la suspicion des autorités locaux. Le courage, l'esprit aventureux, mais surtout la curiosité scientifique sont la source de ce précieux matériel ou les Pays Roumains ont un rôle à part. Intéressé par la vérité et par la reconstitution exacte de la réalité environnante, Raffet expose avec humour les péripéties du voyage, signalant quelquefois sa présence par un carnet, un crayon ou la boîte aux couleurs „oubliés" dans le paysage. L'artiste montre des qualités d'ethnographe et d'orientaliste talentueux, comme le prouvent les dessins originaux conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (analysés en détail par G. Oprescu)[26] et les feuilles disparates qui se trouvent dans les collections roumains. Signalons deux séquences surprises à Cerneți, dans la contrée de Mehedinți (*La Jok)* et à Bucarest, à la maison du „hospodar" (prince régnant) Alexandre Ghica (*Ronde valaque exécutée par des Tsiganes*), qui dévoilent un intérêt spécial pour la danse roumaine traditionnelle.[27] La présence des musiciens tziganes et les pas de la danse sont les mêmes dans le milieu rural de Cerneți que chez les jeunes officiers de Bucarest, habillés avec les uniformes de parade d'inspiration russe. Le mélange entre les traditions locales et les éléments de la civilisation occidentale sont définitoires aussi dans une autre composition intitulée *Le passage de Buzău*[28], où les voyageurs sont obligés de descendre tandis que la diligence est traînée par les chevaux.

Un autre artiste qui a pris des croquis en Valachie pour les reprendre ensuite à Paris a été Michel Bouquet (1807-1890). Issu d'une ancienne famille de marins bretons, animé par le goût de l'aventure (il voyagea en Italie, en Grèce et en Orient) Bouquet fut l'élève d'un ancien disciple de Girodet-Trioson, Jean-Antoine-Théodore Gudin. Avec son maître, Bouquet travailla dans La Grande Galerie de peintures à Versailles dans l'esprit du romantisme, avec verve et emphase, surtout des paysages L'un de ses plus connus albums a été lithographié chez Lemercier, à Paris en 1843: *Album Valaque. Vues et costumes pittoresques de la Valachie dessinés d'après nature par Michel Bouquet*. Bouquet se trouvait en 1840-1842 en

[25] Imprimées par Auguste Bry, édition Gihaut - frères, Paris, 1838-1848 (4 volumes, 1 atlas et 1 album avec 100 lithographies).

[26] G. Oprescu, *Ţările Române...*, *op. cit.* (note 8), p. 36-53.

[27] Planche no. 10 et 18 de l'album *Voyage dans la Russie...*, MNAR, lithographies sur Chine (17,7 x 27,5 et 21,8 x 34,5 cm, inv. nos. 155 et 3136.

[28] Planche no. 19 de l'album *Voyage dans la Russie...*, MNAR, lithographie sur Chine (18,5 × 32,5, cm, inv. no. 143.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Valachie ou il traversa un parcours assez complexe qui comprenait: Bucarest, Câmpulung, Târgovişte, la vallée de Prahova. Après avoir descendu le Danube, de Orşova à Sulina, il voyagea aussi en Moldavie et en Olténie. Ses compositions attentivement bâties, le soin du détail rappellent ses confrères orientalistes, tels Prosper Marilhat ou Théodore Frère. *Album valaque* comprend 12 planches lithographiées par Eugène Cicéri, Férogio et Bouquet lui-même. Les images (dont quelques-unes ont été utilisées comme source documentaire pour les restaurations du XIX[e] siècle) surprennent la beauté des monuments médiévaux, des ornements de l'architecture de Brancovan ou les mœurs et les costumes. Le parcours a été reconstitué par le professeur G. Oprescu d'après les 28 dessins conservés dans la bibliothèque G.Sion de l'Université de Cluj Napoca[29].

Dans la collection du Musée National d'Art de Roumanie il y a, hors des planches disparates, deux exemplaires complets[30], mais aussi des images avec des costumes roumains publiées par la maison parisienne Aubert. Entre 1850 et 1855 celle-ci publia d'après les dessins de Bouquet les séries suivantes: *Galerie Royale de costumes* (10 planches lithographiées par Janet-Lange), *Musée de costumes* et *Musée cosmopolite* (avec des planches gravées en acier par Ch.-M. Geoffroy, L.-F. Guérdet, A. Portier). La planche publiée par Bouquet dans l'Album valaque, intitulée *Dans la cour du monastère de Câmpulung,*[31] est proche des modèles du Baron Taylor et de son imposant travail sur les vues et les monuments de l'ancienne France[32]. L'artiste français décrit, à son tour, muni par un sentiment romantique le monument gothique de Câmpulung à côté du porche en vieux style roumain et les logis du cloître en ruine. La cour est presque déserte, animé seulement dans un coin par un chariot autour duquel se trouvent de paysans en repos.

Un des collaborateurs de Bouquet a été Eugène Cicéri (1813-1890). Peintre, lithographe et aquarelliste, Cicéri a collaboré avec le baron Taylor, réalisant les vues pour Picardie, Bretagne, Dauphiné, Normandie etc. Il a travaillé à Barbizon, Fontainebleau et Marlotte se rattachant au réalisme et aux nouvelles expérimentes sur la lumière. La planche célèbre *L'Auberge de Manouk à Bucarest* (aujourd'hui un document indispensable pour la restauration du monument (la dernière en 1968)

[29] G. Oprescu, *Ţările Române...*, *op. cit.* (note 8), p. 26-35.

[30] MNAR inv. no 16068-16079 (avec reliure marqué: *Hyppolite Blaremberg. Bucarest, 1844*) et inv. no. 27365-27376 (planches détachées, coloriées à la main avec aquarelle et gouache, provenant de la collection du docteur Mircea Petrescu). Voir aussi *Incunabule litografice şi exemplare rare din colecţia Cabinetului de Desene şi Gravuri* [Incunables lithographiées et exemplaires rares provenant de la collection du Cabinet des dessins et des gravures du Musée National d'Art de Roumanie], (Catalogue par Mariana Vida), Bucureşti, MNAR, 1999.

[31] MNAR, lithographie en deux couleurs, d'après le dessin de M. Bouquet, 25,5 × 38,5 cm, inv. no. 8564.

[32] *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France*, œuvre monument pour l'histoire de la lithographie et document exceptionnel concernant l'histoire du patrimoine architectonique français, édité entre 1820 - 1878, par le baron Isidore Taylor, dans 570 fascicules avec 3282 planches. Chaque région de la France a été présentée en images par les plus prestigieux artistes. Voir aussi Janine Bailly-Hertzberg, *L'Art du paysage en France au XIX[e] siècle. De l'atelier au plein air*, Flammarion, Paris, 2000, p. 25-29.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

reproduit fidèlement le dessin de Bouquet, en lui rendant une atmosphère romantique. C'est une vue de la cour intérieure pleine de chariots et délimitée par l'architecture d'influence balkanique (fortifiée au rez-de-chaussée et ouverte vers le premier étage avec une élégante colonnade de piliers en bois sculptés).

Un autre associé de Bouquet a été François-Fortuné-Antoine Férogio (1805-1888), peintre lithographe et graveur français. Il étudia avec le baron Gros (1825) et eut une activité prodigieuse. Pour *l'Album valaque* il travailla les scènes avec des paysans groupés autour d'une grande croix. C'était une occasion de présenter leur costume et leur typologie, voir la composition intitulée *Costumes de Valachie*[33]. Toujours d'après les dessins de l'*Album valaque,* Charles-Michel Geoffroy (1819-1882) a exécuté aussi des gravures sur acier. Après avoir étudié à l'École des beaux-arts il conquerra l'appréciation des éditeurs Furne et Gonet pour ses interprétations romantiques d'après les œuvres de Diaz de la Peña. Il interprètera les dessins de Bouquet dans une manière idyllique tel la planche *Jeune fille de Valachie*[34]. Ayant les traits d'une madone, la jeune fille sourit devant une maison pauvre de campagne, dans un paysage aride, vêtue au costume de travail, avec chemise longue, tablier en laine et ceinture, sans souliers et portant un récipient pour l'eau, en bois.

Pour le recueil *Musée de costume* qui traduisait aussi les dessins de Bouquet, Laurent-François Guérdet (1830-?) a réalisé des planches sur acier. Il se spécialise surtout dans la description des costumes richement ornés, tels les *Dorobantz du district de Romanați*[35] ou *Pâtre nomade de Valachie*[36], de même que son confrère Adolphe Portier de Beaulieu (1820-1889), auteur des sujets divers pour le recueil *Le Musée cosmopolite* (1850-1863), tel *Pâtre moldave des bords du Danube*[37] où le personnage est habillé plutôt à la manière d'un mousquetaire, rappelant le style troubadour des romantiques.

L'interprète le plus fidèle de Bouquet reste Louis Janet-Lange (1815-1872), peintre d'histoire de genre, portraitiste et lithographe, ancien élève d'Ingres et Horace Vernet. Sous l'influence de Vernet il a projeté une suite de costumes militaires à la commande du maréchal Soult et il s'est inspiré de la guerre de Crimée. Il collabora avec les éditeurs du recueil *Galerie royale de costumes* (1842-1848) avec la suite *Costumes valaques*, accomplie d'une manière conventionnelle mais pleine de charme. *Voiturier tzigane sur la route de Iassy*[38] de 1845 présente une typologie exotique, tant l'analyse de la race spécifique et du

[33] MNAR, lithographie coloriée d'après le dessin de M. Bouquet, 24,5 × 41 cm, inv. no. 105329/27366.

[34] Planche no. 192 de l'album intitulé *Musée de costumes*, Paris, [1850-1855], d'après le dessin de M. Bouquet, MNAR, gravure sur acier coloriée, 19 x 11 cm, inv. no. 35175/372.

[35] Planche no. 37 du *Musée de costume,* MNAR, gravure sur acier coloriée, 21,5 × 14 cm, inv. no. 35309/522.

[36] Planche no. 39 du *Musée de costume* [1850-1855], MNAR, gravure sur acier coloriée, 20 × 10 cm inv. no. 35310/523.

[37] Planche no. 101 du *Musée cosmopolite*, [1850-1855], MNAR, gravure sur acier coloriée, 29,5 × 10 cm inv. no. 35349/187.

[38] Planche no. 3 de l'album *Galerie royale de costumes,* Paris, 1845, MNAR, lithographie coloriée et vernissée. 33,5 × 23,5 cm, inv. 38869/66.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

costume avec une longue chemise blanche, une ceinture en cuir et un manteau en gros tissu blanc avec des ornements rouges. Il a la tête couverte d'un grand chapeau de fourrure et tient dans la main un fouet, attribut de son occupation principale. *Homme de la montaigne. Kimpolongo et Jeune fille valaque*[39] portent le costume vivement coloré de la région. L'homme porte l'habit des pâtres riches, avec chapeau noir, bottes et une longue pelisse. La fille est une beauté brune, avec les cheveux en bandeaux et de gros colliers en corrals et or.

Un autre élève de Charlet fut Théodore Valério (1819-1879)[40], peintre aquafortiste et lithographe. Tout comme Raffet il a un intérêt spécial pour les sujets militaires, pour costumes et typologies romantiques. Il est un voyageur acharné et entre 1854 et 1855 il visite la Serbie, les Principautés et en 1863 la côte de Dalmatie et le Monténégro. Au parcours de ces tours il travaille le dessin ethnographique de grande précision et au Salon de 1855 ses études et aquarelles lui apportent le succès. Il les transpose un peu plus tard dans sa technique préférée, l'eau-forte, dont il était un virtuose, dans un album avec des précieuses informations visuelles sur les habitants du bassin du bas Danube. Sous le titre de *Souvenirs de la monarchie autrichienne. Suite de dessins d'après nature gravés à l'eau-forte par Théodore Valério*[41] le recueil présente: la Hongrie, la Dalmatie, les frontières militaires et les populations des provinces danubiennes en 1854 et il sera complété en 1864 avec deux nouvelles séries: la Serbie et le Monténégro. Tout en gardant le modèle des suites qui montre les habitants pendant qu'ils travaillent ou fêtent, Valério confère à ses personnages des attitudes fières, même héroïques rappelant le Romantisme. C'est possible que l'artiste rencontra Charles Szathmari à Calafat ou à Silistra en 1854, pendant la guerre de Crimée, car les deux artistes ont exécuté sur cette route l'image d'une belle fille portant du lait, au village de Tunari, près de Bucarest[42]. En hommage de leur rencontre, Valério fait cadeau à Szathmari ses estampes avant la lettre, une portant la dédicace: «À monsieur Szathmari, souvenir affectueux/Valério»[43].

Suivant seulement les quelques exemples susmentionnés on peut conclure pour l'instant que l'image visuelle est une source ethnographique de premier ordre, qui touche les composants essentiels de l'identité sociale et culturelle des communautés dans des époques distinctes et surtout au XIX$^{e}$ siècle. Les informations relatives aux Roumains, qui succèdent tout le long du siècle, sont multiples sous rapport non seulement diachronique mais aussi synchronique. Par les qualités spécifiques de langage symbolique, l'image visuelle cache dans sa substance la force de modeler la pensée et d'anticiper les goûts et les profils culturels que les artistes créent pour leurs contemporains.

---

[39] Planche no. 5 et no. 10 de l'album *Galerie royale de costumes*, MNAR, lithographies coloriées et vernissées, 33,5 × 23,5 cm inv. nos. 68 et 65.

[40] Henri Beraldi, *op. cit.* (note 26), vol XII, p. 31-85.

[41] Voir G. Oprescu, *Ţările Române...*, *op. cit.* (note 8), p. 54-59.

[42] Théodore Valério, *Femme valaque de Tunari*, planche no. IX de la suite *Les populations des provinces danubiennes*, MNAR, eau-forte, 29 x 19 cm inv. no. 7364 ; Charles Szathmari, *Laitière de Tunari*, aquarelle, MNAR, inv. 7247.

[43] Voir Théodore Valério, *Les Populations des provinces danubiennes. Costumes de la Hongrie et des Provinces Danubiennes*, MNAR, inv. no. 17410.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

**Fig. 1.** Anonyme autrichien (?). *Femmes près Mehadia* (début du XIX$^{e}$), eau-forte coloriée.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

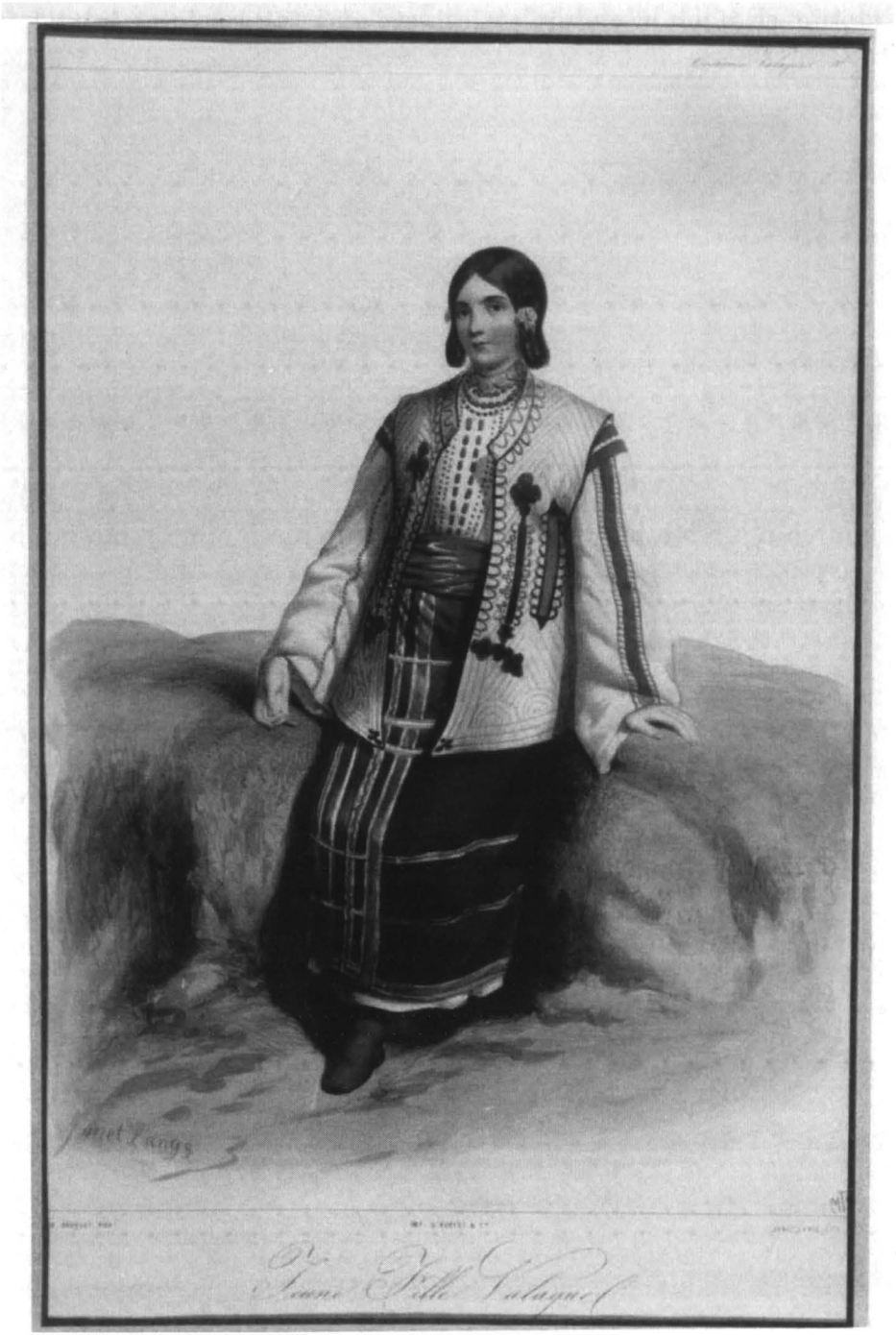



**Fig. 2.** Louis Janet Lange (1815–1872). *Jeune fille valaque* [1845], lithographie coloriée.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

**Fig. 3.** Carol Pop de Szathmari (1812–1887). *Laitière de Tunari*, Ilfov [1855], aquarelle.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

**Fig. 4.** Nicolae Grigorescu (1838–1907). *Petite paysanne* [1878–1880], aquarelle.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

**Fig. 5.** Charles-Michel Geoffroy (1819–1882) d'après Michel Bouquet, *Jeune fille valaque* [1850–1855], gravure sur acier, pl. du „Musée cosmopolite".

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

**Fig. 6.** Adolphe Portier (1820–1889). *Pâtre moldave des bords du Danube* [1850–1855], gravure sur acier, pl. du „Musée de costumes".

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

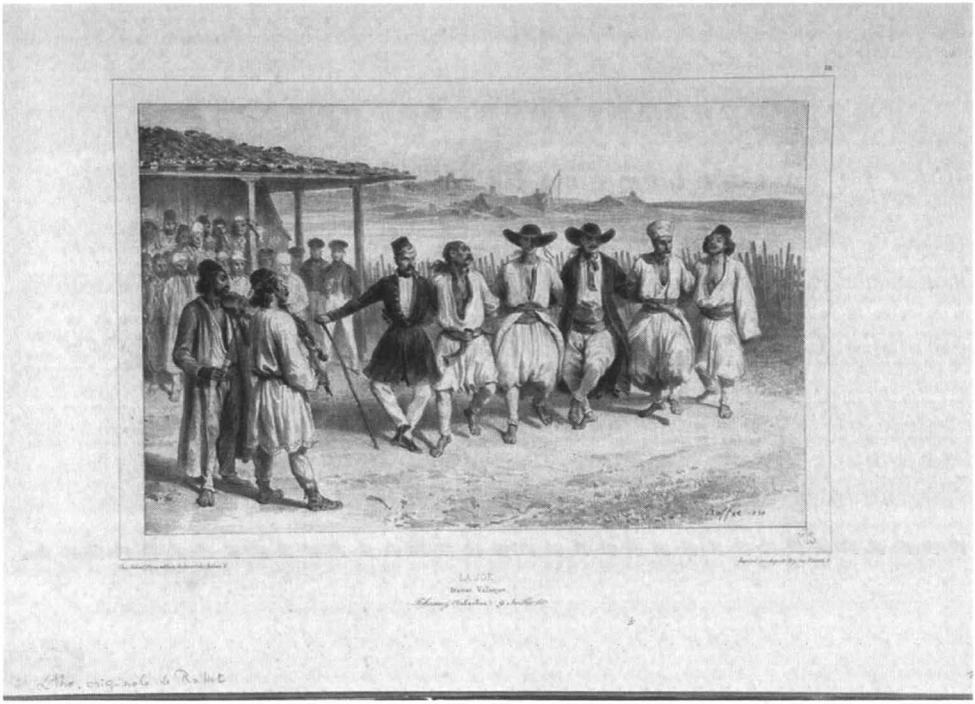


**Fig.7.** Auguste Raffet (1804–1860). *La Jok. Danse Valaque. Tschernez*. 9 juillet 1837, lithographie.

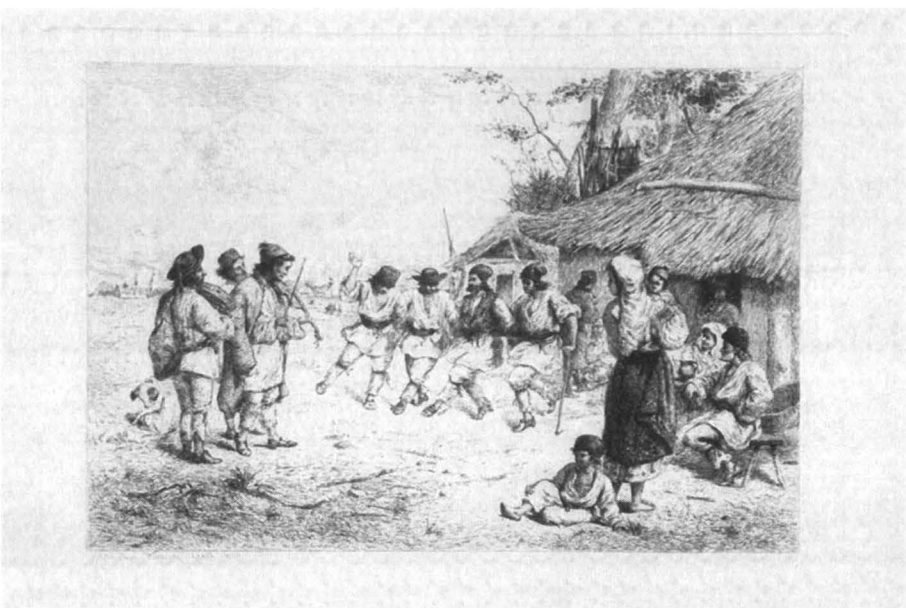


**Fig. 8.** Theodor Aman (1831–1891). *La ceinture. Danse de Roumanie*, [1876], eau-forte.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

**Fig. 9** – Auguste Raffet (1804–1860) – *Le Passage de Buzău* (1837), lithographie.

**Fig. 10** – Eugène Cicéri (1813–1890) d'après Michel Bouquet – *L'auberge de Manouc* (1843), lithographie coloriée.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Adolf Schullerus, *Tipologia basmelor româneşti şi a variantelor lor. Conform sistemului tipologiei basmului întocmit de Antti Aarne*. Traducere din limba germană de Magda Petculescu. Ediţie îngrijită şi prefaţă de I. Oprişan [*The Typology of Romanian Fairy Tales and their variants. According to Antti Aarne Folktale Typology System.* Translation from German by Magda Petculescu. Edition and preface written by I. Oprişan], Bucureşti, Editura Saeculum I. O., 2006, 174 p., ISBN: 973-642-108-2.

In 2008 AD we wonder if there is still any validity in the meaningful words written by Mihail Kogălniceanu in 1840, in *Introducţie* [Introduction] to the journal "Dacia literară" [Literary Dacia], words according to which, at that time, the 'desire to imitate' had become a 'dangerous mania', stifling 'the national spirit within ourselves' and 'the translations can't replace literature'. However, it's a fact that the rhythm of translations and publications has become extremely alert nowadays, our national literature, consisting either of classical or contemporary works, being visibly overcome by the offer of foreign literature. We are faced with the same situation when it comes to scientific works, the Romanian authors having a hard time competing with their foreign peers, who benefit from low-cost, easily accesible online editions, written in their native language (especially when the native language is English).

The strategy that exists or at least should exist within publishing houses regarding the selection of authors and titles very often seems to be guided by the notion of 'public success', according to the healthy or ill-conceived principle, more or less correct that everything that sells well in New York or Paris will definitely be a 'home success' in Bucharest or Vaslui, especially when it comes to fiction. In this way, the market is simply invaded by the *'consumerism literature'*, the so-called 'popular literature' or 'trivial Literatur (in German) on both levels – artistic and scientific.

As to the relatively limited segment of books of folklore/folkloristics, ethnology, anthropology, having a limited, specialized, professional target reader, this segment of literature suffers great injustice due to its rather reduced visibility and lack of adequate promotion, such books running the risk of remaining unknown even to those for whom they had been specially translated, to those they are addressed, their potential beneficiaries, readers and critics altogether.

Among the books written by Romanian or foreign authors, in a language other than Romanian and recently translated into Romanian, our attention is drawn to this particular book – *Tipologia basmelor româneşti şi a variantelor lor* (*The Typology of Romanian Fairy Tales and Their Variants)* by Adolf Schullerus. The author, born in Romania (on the 7th of March 1864, in "Făgăraş village", as his biographer Herman Kügler wrote, and who died on the 27th of January 1928), is the only folklorist belonging to this cultural space who published in the famous series "FFC" ("Folklore Fellow Communication") of the Finnish Academy of Science – Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia [and not *Fiedeakatemia*, as it was misspelt in *Nota asupra ediţiei* (*Note on edition*, page 9; a line above even the author's name was misspelt!] – a pioneering work in the field of folklore, *Verzeichnis der rumänischen Märchen und Märchenvarianten nach dem System der Märchen Typen Antti Aarnes*, Helsinki, 1928.

Both the translator and editor opted for the term 'typology', when the German title makes it clear that the work is a 'catalogue', the same way that the title of the fundamental study written by the


https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Finnish Antti Aarne that served as a model to Adolf Schullerus is *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen* ("FF Communication", No. 3, 1910, second edition, 1928). The idea of 'classification' (different from that of 'typology') is also maintained in the extended English edition of Antti Aarne's 'catalogue', written by the American Stith Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale. A Classification and Bibliography*, "FF Communication", No 184, Helsinki, 1961 (revised edition 1964), known under the scientific quotation of AT or ATh, initials indicating the two authors (the Finnish Aarne and the American Thompson) of the Folktales International Catalogue.

Beyond these observations that may seem rather pedantic but remain important for the recognition of Schullerus's work in the present day, what truly remains is his great cultural gesture of transposing a fundamental work for the Romanian culture into the language of his adoptive country.

Adolf Schullerus belongs to the generous gallery of Transylvanian Saxon folklorists (Arthur and Albert Schott, Franz Obert, Pauline Schullerus etc.) preoccupied with the folklore creation of their Romanian fellow countrymen from Transylvania and Banat; it is through their selections and translations that the Romanian folklore creation was introduced into the literary and scientific European circuit, even before Vasile Alecsandri managed to organize his famous collection *Poezii populare. Balade sau cântice bătrâneşti (Popular poems. Ballads or traditional songs)*, 2 volumes, 1852-53, known worldwide due to its French, English and German editions.

Adolf Schullerus's *Tipologia...*, recently published due to the editorial initiative of I. Oprişan, stands out as an important moment in the research of the Romanian popular prose and indicates a very early tendency of the Romanian folktales research to synchronize with the new directions present in international research. The outspokenly declared model of Schullerus's work is the Finnish Antti Aarne's 'catalogue', *Verzeichnis der Märchen Typen*, "FFC" no. 3, Helsinki, 1910; thus, Schullerus's work is placed among the first echoes of the famous above-mentioned catalogue outside Northwestern Europe, and Scandinavian-Baltic space, a catalogue which was to become, due to Stith Thompson's additions, one of the most treasured research tools in the study of popular narratives.

Schullerus's attempt remained unique and somehow unfitting in the Romanian folklore studies in comparison with numerous other cultures that later elaborated typologies/catalogues of their national repertory of folktales, thus acknowledging and perfecting the scheme proposed by Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson. Among the latest catalogues that we are familiar with is Liliana Daskalova Perkowski, Doroteja Dobreva, Jordanka Koceva & Evgenija Miceva, *Typenverzeichnis der bulgarischen Volksmarchen.* Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Klaus Roth (*The Catalogue of the Bulgarian folktales types*), "FF Communication, no. 275, Helsinki, 1995: "The index registers over 5500 variants throughout the Bulgarian speakers area. The folktales are classified into 1600 types, according to Aarne-Thompson system, more than half of which have no correspondent whatsoever in *The Types of the Folktale*", cf. "FFNetwork" no. 11, October 1995, p. 8, and even a re-edition, Seán Ó Súilleabháin and Reider Th. Christiansen, *The Types of the Irish Folktale*, "FFC" no. 188, Helsinki, 2000; first edition, 1963: as it is written in the presentation of the new edition, in "FFNetwork" no. 24, May 2003, p. 27, "the catalogue offers a useful image upon Irish folktales, especially to non-Irish readers", exploiting printed sources and *archive manuscripts* (my underline – N. C.); it also follows the pattern of classification used by A. Aarne and St. Thompson, "highlighting the unique characteristics of the Irish tradition", an intelligent argument invoked in favour of such an undertaking.

One might wonder what would be the point of such a standardized repertory of popular prose. The mere reason that justifies the terribly complicated work of elaborating such catalogues resides in their particular quality of being useful intellectual tools; standardizing the information makes it easier for those interested to search and identify a certain folktale and its motifs. It is for this reason that choosing to ignore ATh or its up-to-date variant written by Hans-Jörg Uther, *The Types of International Folktales. A Classification and Bibliography. Based on the System of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson*, 3 vol., "FFC" no. 284-286, Helsinki, 2004, known under the abbreviation ATU (Aarne-Thompson-Uther), means signing your exclusion from or assuming your position at the periphery of the international scientific research. One may say that in 1928, through Schullerus's *Catalogue...* we were closer to European trends in folktale research than we are today.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Little was the Saxon folklorist's work known in Romania, though there had been references to it and attempts to acknowledge its value. The editor of the Romanian edition, I. Oprişan, reprinted the following studies in the Addendum to the volume translated: Corneliu Bărbulescu, *Catalogul poveştilor populare româneşti. Note preliminare (The Catalogue of the Romanian Folktales. Preliminary Notes)* "REF", 1-2, 1960, I. C. Chiţimia, *Problemele clasificării şi definirii literaturii populare româneşti (Difficulties in classifying and defining the Romanian folk literature)*, "SCILF", III, 1954, Hermann Klüger, *Adolf Schullerus. In memoriam*, "FFC" no. 80, 1928, and Ovidiu Papadima, *Adolf Schullerus şi folclorul românesc* (fragmente) (*Adolf Schullerus and the Romanian Folklore – fragments)* in the volume *Literatura populară română (Romanian Folk Literature)*, 1968. The four contributions from the *Addendum* are in alphabetic order, after the name of the author, though their chronological order would have proved the consistency of preoccupations for this subject, extending over a four decade span (1928-1968).

Hermann Klüger's nine page obituary, *Adolf Schullerus zum Gedächnis*, contains not only a warm *In Memoriam* for the vicar bishop and priest in Sibiu, the headmaster of Agnita Elementary School, German teacher at Sibiu Seminary, Ph. D, with the thesis *Critica vechii credinţe nordice în Valhala (Critics of the northern belief in Valhala)*, but also an eulogistic discourse about Adolf Schullerus as a dedicated researcher of his Saxon fellow countrymen's history, language and folklore, as an erudite folklorist specialized in Romanian folktales, tracing their genesis and studying folklore "on historical basis, a requirement that the present – 1928 – can no longer ignore if we are determined to maintain the true character of the science that signed its declaration of independence (he refers to folk science – my note N.C.) and if we refuse to return to folk science seen as a friendly game or as a history of sound evolution".

The Romanian version of Adolf Schullerus's *Typology of Romanian Fairy Tales and their variants* offers a sample of thorough and careful German *Arbeit*. This work can be added to the excellent edition of the brothers Arthur and Albert Schott's collection *Basme valahe cu o introducere despre poporul valah şi o anexă destinată explicării basmelor* [Vlach Folktales with an Introduction about the Vlach People and an Appendix Destined to Explaining the Folktales] (1845; translation, preface and notes by Viorica Nişcov, Editura Polirom, 2003), and to the admirable transposition of Richard Kunisch's journey notes into Romanian, *Bucureşti şi Stambul. Schiţe din Ungaria, România şi Turcia* [Bucharest and Istambul. Sketches in Hungary, Romania and Turkey] (translation from German, preface and notes by Vorica Nişcov, Editura Saeculum I. O., 2000, an edition in which one can find Mihai Eminescu's poem *Luceafărul* [The Morning Star], the prototype accepted by literary historians). Despite the inherent difficulties of such an approach, the publishing of the Schullerus *Catalogue* of 1928 is a serious undertaking that, sad to say, national research institutes and groups of people paid by the state budget failed to carry out years after years.We do hope that the 1928 version of Schullerus's *Catalogue*, now translated (with some imperfections, due to the fact that the translator was not quite knowledgeable about folklore) into Romanian will give new impulse to Romanian researchers, especially now, when there are stimulating accomplishments and solutions on international level. Thus, the Spanish researchers opted in favour of a Spanish version of the Catalogue: Antti Aarne & Stith Thompson, *Los Tipos del Cuento Folclorico. Una Clasificación.* Traducción al Español de Fernando Peñalosa, "FFC" no. 258, 1995, and the Portuguese researchers Isabel Cardigos, Paulo Correia and J. J. Dias Marques edited *Catalogue of Portuguese Folktales*, "FFC" no. 291, Helsinki, 2007. The latter Catalogue was used, while still on manuscript, by the editor of the new international folktales catalogue, dr. Hans-Jörg Uther, who included in it no less than 700 types from the Portuguese repertory, as compared to 3 types initially included in the old ATh. Even if we are to limit ourselves to this argument of having our national folktales repertory made visible, it should be enough for us to consider the matter and consequently take a decision to this effect.

Nicolae CONSTANTINESCU

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Academia Română [Académie Roumaine], Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane Sibiu [Institut de Recherches Socio-Humaines], Centrul Județean pentru Conservarea și Promovarea Culturii Tradiționale Sibiu [Centre Départemental de Sibiu pour la Conservation et la Promotion de la Culture Traditionnelle], *Studii și comunicări de etnologie*, tomul XX, 2006, serie nouă [Études et communications d'ethnologie, tome XX^e^, 2006, nouvelle série], Sibiu, Editura Imago, 255 p., ISSN: 1221–6518.

En 2006 nous avions salué la parution des *Études et Communications d'Ethnologie*, le XX^e^ tome. La publication de Sibiu a été présentée à l'occasion de la Conférence Nationale de l'Association des Sciences Ethnologiques de Roumanie. Je feuillette les premières dizaines de pages et je constate, sans compter le souvenir agréable, qu'à peu près la moitié de ceux qui ont rendu un hommage écrit à cet anniversaire – pour la plupart des noms connus dans le domaine – ont participé aussi au lancement du volume.

Du point de vue chronologique, l'événement est deux fois anniversaire. Il marque un chiffre rond et significatif par le nombre de volumes publiés et un chiffre également entier par le temps écoulé depuis l'édition du premier numéro: les *Études et Communications d'Ethnologie*, au vingtième cahier, marquent aussi trente ans depuis ses débuts. C'est un intervalle qui inclut, par conséquent, l'heureux rythme des parutions des dernières seize années, aussi bien que les frustrations, maintenant dépassées, de neuf années de suppression.

Les premières trente pages sont des saluts. Les messages convergent thématiquement et coïncident souvent dans les informations de détail. Elles se plient aux vérités et aux certitudes qui ont construit le statut actuel du tome. Ce sont des mots d'amitié et des félicitations chaleureuses pour un périodique dont la parution annuelle, strictement respectée, marque une situation digne d'être signalée. C'est-à-dire que, dans l'ensemble de l'édition du livre ethnologique de la Roumanie post-décembriste, où jusqu'à récemment l'espace de publication a couru le risque de la syncope et de l'éphémère, trente années depuis la naissance et vingt d'exercice discursif marquent une belle étape de la vie. Pour les gens c'est l'âge de la maturité en fleur, quand on peut se rappeler les choses passées sans la moindre mélancolie, parce qu'une vie entière attend, indubitablement, son accomplissement dans le temps à venir. Ce qui est valable pour les hommes n'en est pas moins vrai pour les livres, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit d'anniversaires. D'autant plus que les périodiques, bien des fois, attachent intimement le rythme de leurs parutions au chiffre des années qui dessinent le fil de la vie de ceux qui ont contribué à édifier ces écrits non seulement en donnant un coup d'épaule, mais à cœur joie. Combien de publications d'aujourd'hui ne se réclament des noms des fondateurs pour leurs racines et leurs traditions ! Les auteurs des textes d'accueil l'affirment, eux aussi, sans apologie et sans fausses réticences. Et parce que pour tous les vingt numéros des *Études et Communications d'Ethnologie* imprimés jusqu'à présent le rédacteur en chef est Ilie Moise, professeur à l'Université Lucian Blaga de Sibiu, dans l'épistolaire au dialogue simultané qui couvre les premières pages du tome, le nom de celui qui a soigné carrément la parution régulière du volume est rappelé avec déférence, avec affection même.

À son tour, le rédacteur en chef inscrit dans le volume jubilaire, avec une rigueur d'historien, des «notes sur la mémoire du temps» qui rendent compte des plus importants moments dans l'existence de la publication. C'est un article bienvenu pour les lecteurs. Et non seulement pour ceux entrés plus récemment dans le champ de la recherche ethnologique. Captifs dans le présent et dépositaires naturels d'information, on se plaît à croire, trop souvent peut être, qu'il n'est pas absolument besoin de rappels pour garder la mémoire vivante. Nous oublions que, faute de notes

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

quelles que succinctes soient elles, les événements – même ceux qui construisent les marches de l'histoire d'un champ scientifique – se dispersent. Ils se répandent dans des textes et on ne sait jamais, s'ils seront réunis en volume. Ou bien, ils entrent irréversiblement, dans la fameuse tradition orale, juste le pain quotidien de notre science. Aux *Études et Communications d'Ethnologie* on n'est jamais tombé dans ce piège. À la rubrique «La Chronique», rédigée annuellement par le rédacteur en chef, on peut déceler le pacte autobiographique de la discipline telle qu'elle évolue dans l'aire sud-transylvain, à travers les plus importants événements de l'année de référence: en 2006 la fête de la 50$^{e}$ anniversaire de la *Revue d'Ethnographie et de folklore*, hommage apporté par l'Institut d'Ethnographie et de Folklore «Constantin Brailoiu», la session jubilaire *Demi centenaire: 1956–2006*, de l'Institut de Recherches Sociales et Humaines de Sibiu, la promotion de la culture populaire par les actions du Centre Départemental pour la Conservation et la Promotion de la Culture Traditionnelle «Cindrelul – Junii» Sibiu, la recherche et la valorisation scientifique de la culture et de la civilisation populaire au Complexe National du Musée «Astra» Sibiu. La reproduction des fiches bibliographiques de tous les livres et les revues reçues à la rédaction dans les derniers douze mois constituent une partie significative de la rubrique mentionnée.

Si on ne le savait pas déjà, on peut apprendre en lisant les «notes» que pour les *Études et Communications d'Ethnologie* l'année 1991 fut un seuil: la reprise de l'édition du 5$^{e}$ numéro. Sous un nouvel intitulé, le tome était conçu, naturellement, comme continuation de l'ancien bulletin, *Études et Communications*, publication officielle de l' «Association des folkloristes et des ethnographes du département de Sibiu» fondée en 1977. Il réunissait dans ses pages les élaborations scientifiques analysées pendant les assemblées périodiques des membres de l'association ou à l'occasion de divers rencontres de travail comme les symposiums, les sessions de communications etc.

Il y a une unité sous-jacente entre la première série publiée et la suite, assez longue, de volumes parus dans la deuxième étape et ce sont plusieurs niveaux qui mettent en évidence la liaison renouée. Apparemment «menues», certaines choses définissent la continuité: elles donnent le ton de la nouvelle rencontre pour ceux qui connaissent le livre depuis longtemps et assurent le seuil indicatif pour ceux qui, en le lisant pour la première fois, veulent en rester proches, dans l'avenir, Un premier exemple de ce genre appartient au segment du visible, immédiatement repérable – l'aspect graphique. Par conséquent, et à dessein, l'aspect extérieur du volume reste constant: un peu plus large à partir de la troisième parution, le livre garde le long des années la même couleur de la couverture – un gris argent devenu assez vite métallisé. Le même caractère pour les lettres noires du titre et le même format de l'intérieur, ce qui assure, sur l'instant, la reconnaissance visuelle. Un deuxième segment d'unité est celui qui caractérise l'organisation interne de la publication. On y énumère la liste des auteurs et les rubriques de l'intérieur (pas toujours marquées) qui établissent la configuration sur laquelle sont greffées les interventions. Des noms marquants de l'ethnologie roumaine y sont réunis, depuis des universitaires jusqu'à des gens de musée, depuis des chercheurs de profession, jusqu'à des passionnés du domaine. Dans ce contexte, l'attribut le plus important reste la qualité des collaborations. Il faut mentionner d'ailleurs que le périodique est entré sous le patronage de l'Académie Roumaine, dès 1992. Il va honorer son nom et son égide. Dès le commencement, les contributions avaient dépassé les frontières du département de Sibiu. En gardant sa structure, le volume a augmenté la précision de ses limites disciplinaires, en insistant décidément pour l'équilibre du contenu: les études et les communications ont reflété le nom de la science – ethnologie. Les matériels de folklore ont été complétés par une démarche plus large, permettant d'aborder la culture et la civilisation traditionnelles. La culture matérielle a occupé sa place bien méritée. Les interférences ont été présentes, elles aussi. Elles ont débuté avec le niveau régional: le sud de la Transylvanie surtout, avec des extensions, cependant, vers d'autres zones du pays et avec une attention particulière prêtée aux confluences roumano-allemandes etc. Parfois, des contributions venues de chercheurs de l'étranger complètent l'image de l'ethnologie européenne. Ensuite, le temps est venu aussi pour faire des études sur des espaces plus éloignés (même extra-européens), surtout si la représentation culturelle du patrimoine favorisait le sujet.

La dimension théorique, tellement nécessaire pour établir le stade de développement de la science avec ses nombreuses facettes, a accumulé elle aussi des élaborations importantes, qui ont mis face-à-face les secteurs disciplinaires. Vue dans l'ensemble des texte rédigés, la théorie n'est pas

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

restée marginale, ancrée dans des ouvrages sporadiques ou des introductions méthodologiques, obligatoires pour définir le cadre de la recherche, mais elle a été redoublée de suggestions capables de former un fondement pour des stratégies efficaces de développement. Ainsi a-t'on construit un statut: le volume est devenu un espace convainquant d'information sur les avances scientifiques de l'ethnologie roumaine.

L'unité de vision de la rédaction constitue sûrement une assurance pour la continuation de la publication. Un même rédacteur en chef, surveillant les numéros le long des années: le prof. univ. dr. Ilie Moise. Il est accompagné dès le début, ou depuis beaucoup d'années, de personnalités d'exception dans le domaine: prof. univ. dr. Gheorghe Pavelescu, prof. univ. dr. Corneliu Bucur, conf. univ. dr. Al. Dobre, prof. Horst Klusch et d'autres noms réputés de l'ethnologie roumaine, tout d'abord de l'ethnologie régionale. Le rédacteur en chef et son équipe ont démontré, au long des années, des habilités de rédaction et de management, qui ont permis de dépasser les obstacles qui auraient pu périclité le rythme des apparitions. Au-delà des nécessités strictement matérielles que la publication du volume demandait, la rédaction a soutenu les chaînes qui se trouvent à la base de l'équilibre durable qui caractérise le tome. Chaque numéro est une rencontre avec des amis, un cercle toujours ouvert, garant d'une fluidité où la constance et la nouveauté des participations se compensent: un simple survol donne l'image sur la proportion justes des groupes d'âge qui contribuent avec des recherches. Il y a ici, pour la jeune génération de chercheurs, outre l'encouragement implicite, une possibilité de confirmer le niveau atteint dans le travail d'ethnologue. La sélection réalisée par l'équipe de rédaction engage une responsabilité fondée, dès le commencement, sur l'intention de développer le domaine.

Ces éléments apparaissent aussi dans le volume anniversaire. Les deux sections qui donnent la structure sont «folklore – anthropologie – ethnologie», avec dix articles et «ethnologie des Allemands de Roumanie», avec trois articles. Il faut mentionner que les textes sont signés par des personnages connus de la discipline, par des savants, des universitaires ou des chercheurs scientifiques: Gheorghe Pavelescu, Ilie Moise, Georghiţă Geană, Victor Grecu, Constantin Drăgulescu, Amalia Pavelescu, Gabriela Panţel – dont les préoccupations couvrent quelques domaines significatifs de l'ethnologie roumaine: l'histoire de la discipline, les bases théoriques de l'anthropologie culturelle, la dimension littéraire des phénomènes de culture traditionnelle, ethnobotanique. La muséologie ethnologique se retrouve elle aussi dans ces pages, grâce aux travaux de quelques studieux de longue date dans ce champ disciplinaire, comme Ana Grama, Maria Bocşe ou Constantin Popa. L'élément dominant est la culture matérielle. Les articles de Marius Drăgoi, Veronica Gheorghiade, Laura Luchian, Liliana Oprescu ou Delia Voina rendent présents les intérêts variés de la jeune génération: depuis les sujets classiques du folklore à ceux de la dernière modernité imposée par l'introduction des nouvelles techniques d'informatisation pour la valorisation du patrimoine. L'ethnomusicologie n'est pas absente: en sont preuve les articles de Zamfir Dejeu et Florian Teodorescu. L'ethnologie des Allemands de Roumanie inclut des travaux signés par Horst Klusch, Gudrun Ittu et Karla Roşca. Maria Bozan apporte, dans ce numéro aussi, la dimension extra-européenne du patrimoine du musée de Sibiu et la manière dont les débuts de l'anthropologie culturelle dans le monde lui assurent la valeur dans le contexte international.

Une rubrique qui ne manque jamais et qui a connu le long du temps des dimensions différentes vu le nombre de pages, est celle des «anniversaires et commémorations». Dans ce numéro elle est consacrée à Ioan Şerb et à Dumitru Pop. Arrêtant un moment la marche impétueuse de la vie quotidienne et sauvant la mémoire, on y rappelle beaucoup ceux qui ont construit le sol ferme de l'ethnologie roumaine. Si le nombre de feuilles de cette section augmente, il est évident qu'il y avait et qu'il y a encore beaucoup à recevoir, que la source d'où la jeune génération tire sa force est loin de sécher.

En tant que signataire de ces lignes, je garde un souvenir intact des moments de lectures et de mes participations textuelles liés à ce volume. Les mots ci-dessus ne peuvent et ne veulent pas être une présentation du tome, mais seulement un signal pour ne pas oublier certains éléments qui concourent à ébaucher un portrait et à marquer un anniversaire.

Maria BOZAN

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Ceribašić, Naila and Haskell, Erica (eds.), *Shared Musics and Minority Identities: Papers from the Third Meeting of the "Music and Minorities" Study Group of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM), Roč, Croatia, 2004*. Zagreb, Roč: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Cultural-Artistic Society "Istarski željezničar", 2006. xxvi + 372 pp + accompanying CD. ISBN 953-6020-32-7.

Definitely, the ICTM Study Group on Music and Minorities is the best. Or better said, better and better. Already from the first volume (Pettan et al. 2001) to the second one (Hemetek et al 2004) the leap forward was consistent. Even myself, critical on the narrow thematic span of the first volume (Marian-Bălaşa 2003), I became very appreciative when seeing the second. The broadening of the concept and the research circle, the widening of the interest span, the integration of a wider variety of music and minorities matters, the impressively quantitative growth – all are confirmed now with this third volume.[1]

The introductive paper of **Naila Ceribašić** (*Shared Musics and Minority Identities: An Introduction*, p. ix-xviii) remembers the event and atmosphere of the Study Group conference, notes on the current status of various discussions on minorities, and redundantly introduces the papers to follow. A larger remembrance of the venue which occasioned the meeting (Roč, Northern Istria, Croatia) is done by Ines Greblo (*A Word from the Host*, p. xix-xxv). Even if uninteresting from an academic viewpoint, the text surpasses the quality of a dispensable protocol or vanity text.

**Philip V. Bohlman** is present with a paper (*Minorities of One, and Other Traces on the Postcolonial Musical Landscape*, p.1-14) introducing the case of the modern guslar Boro Ronganović. Initially, the musician was a civil servant in Chicago at the time of Yugoslavia's collapse, became almost suddenly an "accidental" immigrant, turned back to his ancestors' vocation, now offering to ethnomusicologist Bohlman a good excuse for him to interpret the Montenegrin-American musicianship as mediating a memory place and as a myth-and-history agency.

Discussing the *Multiple Musical Identity of Lovara in Austria* (p. 15-30), **Sachiko Takiguchi** presents the musical history of a four generation Roma family, maturely concluding on the several types of musical expression and various repertories as illustrating a developmental process of expressing and performing ethnic identity over decades.

**Speranţa Rădulescu** (*Parallel Communities, Identities, and Musics: The Case of Roma and Gypsies from Gratia Village, Romania*, p. 31-46), presents two distinct Roma/Gypsy groups from one village, who master and perform very distinct lifestyles, musical styles, and languages. The article is a fair ethnographic description.[2]

---

[1] Alas, it inflates the page volume with abstracts in Croatian language. As pointed out with the first volume of the M&M Study Group (Marian-Bălaşa 2003) this is just a useless extra-academic courtesy – done toward the institutional/administrative hosts. Who really cares about reading those abstracts and titles in a minor/minoritarian language?

[2] Alas, as too often (!), the author treats the topic and subject with no academic references, no theoretically informed vision and updated standpoints, just as an ego-centered intellectual discovery, from just an individualistic perspective. This attitude confuses between fieldwork report, alleged comprehension, and expected/updated explanatory standard.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

**Alma Bejtullahu** (*Musical Practice of Albanian Catholic Migrants from Kosovo*, p. 47-64) presents at length the history of Albanian emigration, giving just a small place to discussing the musical aspects (wedding occasions) of the migrants' behaviors. Better balanced – between history and musicology – is the article signed by Ruža Bonifačić (*Multiple Identities of Italians and Croats in the City of Krk (the Island of Krk, Croatia*, p. 65-80), which offers consistent notes and examples on the history and contents of the brass band, the dance songs, and the remaining lyrical songs in a particular town.

**Alessandra Ciucci**'s paper *From Social Marginality to Artistic Centrality: The Case of Moroccan Shikhat* (p.81-91) is a wonderful, exemplary presentation. It is not only the prefect – synthetic, informative and comprehensive – ethnography of the practices of Moroccan female singers-dancers, it is also the highly interpretative, feminist taken on the social and imaginary role of femininity as well as sex-workers in Islamic environments.

**Gisa Jähnichen** (*Pray Women and their Musical Duties*, p. 93-106) presents the results of a fieldwork in Laos and Thailand, based on questionnaires that, from an intellectual point of view, I find equally basic and challenging. The article is a concentrated overview, with some – equally analytical and applied – organological findings.

**Zuzana Jurková** (*Pentecostal Movement of the Czech Roma through their Music*, p. 107-119) starts by describing a religious assembly, discards the academic prejudice against studying the music of Pentecostal musics, and then indulges in a long, personal reading and presentation of the elements that characterize the contemporary charismatic movements. The notes on the religious conversion of Czech Roma to Penticostalism and the brief presentation of a specific musical group are very informative.

**Yea-Tyng Chang** (*Another Minority: French-African Christian Songs in Vienna*, p. 121-127) makes very interesting theoretical remarks and systematizing when discusses the musical repertoire and developments of immigrants from Congo. The discrimination between "external minority condition" and "internal minority situation" is rather applied (facts description), but it is also inspiring for a larger intellectual approach.

Under the title *Music and Dance as the Basis of Spiritual Transformation in the Musical Culture of Turkish Dervishes* (p. 129-140) **Jacek Piech** signs an introduction to the history and phenomenology of things pertaining to Sufi mysticism and whirling dervishes. His bibliography is minimal, and his presentation is fully satisfactory to non-connaisseurs only.[3]

**Dorit Klebe** (*Visualization-Forms of the Ottoman-Turkish Rhythmic Mode Usûl from the 17th Century on: Discussed in the Context of the Emic/Etic Concept*, p. 141-156) selects elements of the notation and transcription systems devised by three medieval personalities, but I could hardly realize the direct connections between these analyses and comparisons, and the emic/etic dichotomy emphasized here as a revealing concept.

**Hande Sağlam** (*Musical Identity of Ethnic Groups in the Sivas Region*, p. 157-169) identifies transfers and commonalities in the music of Turks, Kurds, and Armenians in Anatolia, particularly in the sacred and folk music (up to instruments and makams) performed by the *âşıks* (zonal troubadurs).

**Thede Kahl** (*"Being Vlach, Singing Greek": Greek-Aromanian Music Contacts in the Pindus Mountain Range*, p. 171-188) offers a very comprehensive essay – as well as bibliography – on the research, fieldwork, systematizing, and publishing on the issue of cultural existence and productivity of Aromanians in Southeastern Europe. Interesting enough is the fact that in the Aromanian Pindus mostly women, handling specific repertoires, sing in Aromanian, whereas men, with specialized repertoire, sing primarily in Greek.

**Victor A. Stoichiță** (*A Matter of Attitude: Gypsiness and Style in Zece Prăjini, Romania*, p. 189-199) extracts from the Roma people's words very suggestive discriminations between

[3] The author presents facts and ideas that are well too well-known to other academic circles (such as, for instance, people familiar with studies in history of religion). But this can be a problem to all those studying music and minorities: condemned to inter- and multi-disciplinarity, they all must compare and compete with experts in either ethnicity studies (if referring to ethnic minorities) or religion studies (if studying/writing on religious groups).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Romanian and Gypsy musicality. The numerous linguistic expressions surpass the level of daily parlance; they become relevant for understanding a very wide span of facts: from grasping technical and acoustic aspects of musical performance up to issues pertaining to self-representation and mentality.[4]

**Piotr Dahlig**'s title, *Migrations in Austria-Hungary after 1878 and Poland after 1945: Music as a Therapy for Cultural Minorities* (p. 201-212) is not ironic. In the contrary, the author displays the history of Poles migrating to Bosnia and then coming back to Poland also from the angle of the documentable musical life. Thus he extracts and offers a different history, which speaks about cultural acquisitions that turned from burden to recently commodifiable pride.

**Jerko Bezić** (*Croatians of Zadar, Performers of Italian Canzoni Zaratine, Triestine and West-Istrian Urban Songs: The Issue of Multiple Identities and Inter-Ethnic Communication* p. 213-224) writes on a typical case of multiple identity and musical bilingualism. Apart from his main object for study and presentation (words and music borrowings and sharing), interesting is also the Croatian-Italian musicological exchanges the author illustrates.

**Bożena Muszkalska** (*Alien Melodies versus Jewish Identity in the Music of Ashkenazim from Eastern Europe*, p. 225-234) focuses on the openness of the sacred repertories to influences and the adaptation and integration of both sacred and secular tunes into the music of East European Jewry.

**Elena Shishkina** tackles the issue of *The Ethnic Identity of Russian Germans in the Context of Contemporary Social, Cultural and Ethnopolitical Problems of the Volga Region in Russia* (p. 235-252) in a descriptive as well as bibliographical fashion. She revisits and compares her field findings with those of many other previous researchers.

In *The Cheapest Musical Instrument of the World* (p. 253-257), **Shui-Cheng Cheng** delivers a unique monograph – on/of the musical usage of tree leaf (references belong to Chinese ethnicities only). Alas, because the learning and playing traditions are, in this case, orally – one may say, at the peak of orality itself – only imitation (although watching and imitation have so many levels or degrees!) and mastership are mentioned. Thus, the article is only an introduction meant to talk organologists into paying attention to this pseudo-instrument too. It leaves open space to other observers and experimentalists – who might be able to notice and explain the handling and playing techniques.

**Ivan Lešnik** (*Prospects of an Individual Minority Musician: The Case of Slavo Batista*, p. 259-274) delivers another kind of monograph, devoted to an individual who takes, revives, borrows, invents, re-invents, and constructs musical instruments. Some are the folk instruments that had characterized once the traditional music of Slovenes in Istria, others represent his original taken on old, foreign, and hybrid instruments.

**Wolf Dietrich** (*Playing the Pipiza or Karamouza in Central Greece*, p. 275-288) brings another organological contribution – the oboe-type and drum duo that is so typical to folk music in Sutheastern Europe. Various places and venues in Greece are presented throught the music still to be found.

**María Escribano** (*Music, Politics and Identity: Exploring Paths to Peace*, p. 289-301) describes a university seminar with the same title, discussing individual contributions and cases that show identification or association between music and politics, cases of social and ideological side-taken, of forwarding peace, understanding, affirmation or confrontation. In a desire for serving and for applied ethnomusicology, the author paralleled and brought together Irish and Basque sectarian groups around a music-making element and event.

In *Aiding Harmony? International Humanitarian Aid and the Role of Applied Ethnomusicologists* (p. 303-314) **Erica Haskell** makes one step forward: benefiting from a global perspective and associating many facts (music and politics, with special emphasis on Iraq and Bosnia), the author suggests some of the differences, the limits and risks taken by the involvement of music and musicologists in political agendas and humanitarian policies.

[4] The author, however, should avoid bibliographical ignorance (see Marian-Bălaşa 2002, 2004).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

**Aleksandra Marković** and **Ana Hofman** (*The Role of Cultural-Artistic Societies in Emphasizing the Identity of Bunjevci*, p. 315-333) discusses the role of an institution in the act of reviving folk traditions in the aim for preserving and promoting a particular ethnic profile. Differences between reality in the field and the mediated outputs are emphasized.

**Jakša Primorac** (*Minority within Minority: A Fieldwork Experience with Greek-Catholic Singers in Croatia*, p. 335-349) shows an interesting passing from folk reality to festival (and back) in the fight of a marginalized religious community for survival and emancipation.

**Rosemary Statelova** has here an article (*The East Studies the West: The Problematic Dialogue*, p. 351-358) which could equally open the volume. It brings out the issue of emic/etic explanation as well as insider's/outsider's dialectics in presenting the culture. It also raises issues related to academic discrimination and inequality (Westerners studying European musics rely only on American-centered biography, without really checking with the regional research and expertise), thus enlarging the grasp of concepts such as sameness and otherness.

A list of the audio examples, with extensive explanations, on the accompanying CD follows (p. 359-364), and "Notes on Contributors" (p. 365-371) end the volume.

As it can be noticed, there is no obvious, logical or discoursive succession or continuity among published authors. But that's the risk most proceedings volume takes, although the striving of any such volume for coming closer to the structuring composition of a collective volume would be better appreciated. I think, however, that working either through selection, or through re-processing – i.e., either not all papers presented to be included in the volume, or all papers to be rewritten in accordance with observations, discussions, questions or criticism expressed during a conference – together with structuring each volume in accordance with cognate topics, similar approaches, and ideated fluency, might really improve the quality of the M&M Study Group's productions.

## REFERENCES

**Hemetek**, Ursula, Gerda **Lechleitner**, Inna **Naroditskaya**, Anna **Czekanowska** (eds.) 2004: *Manifold Identities: Studies on Music and Minorities. Proceedings of the 2nd Meeting of the Study Group Music and Minorities of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM), Lublin, Poland, 2002*. London: Cambridge Scholars Press.

**Marian-Bălaşa**, Marin 2002: *Birds in Cages Still Sing Well: An Introduction to the Musical Anthropology of Romanian Jails*. In 'Ethnomusicology' 2 (46): 250-264.

**Marian-Bălaşa**, Marin 2003: *Book Review – Glasba in Manjisne / Music and Minorities...* (eds. S. Pettan, A. Reyes, M. Komavec), Ljubljana, 2001. In 'The World of Music' 2(45): 176-179.

**Marian-Bălaşa**, Marin 2004: *Romany Music and Gypsy Criminality*. In 'Ethnologia Balkanica' (Journal for Southeast European Anthropology) 8: 195-225.

**Pettan**, Svanibor, Adelaida **Reyes**, Maša **Komavec** (eds.) 2001: *Glasba in Manjšine. Zbornic referatov 1. mednarodnega posvetovanja študijske skupine Mednarodnega Sveta za Tradicijko Glasbo (ICTM) Glasba in Manjšine, Ljubljana, Slovenija, 25.-30. junij 2000 / Music and Minorities: Proceedings of the 1st International Meeting of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) Study Group Music and Minorities, Ljubljana, Slovenia, June 25-30, 2000*. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC / ZRC Publishing and Institute of Ethnomusicology.

Marin MARIAN-BĂLAŞA

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

# LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

**Kai ÅBERG** – Researcher at the Department of Finnish Language and Cultural Research, University of Joensuu (Finland). He received his Ph.D. in Folklore at the University of Joensuu in 2002, with the book *"Nää laulut kato kertoo meijän elämästä" – Tutkimus romanien laulukulttuurista Itä-Suomessa 1990-luvulla* ["These Songs Tell About Our Lives, You See" – A Study on the Singing Culture of Romanies in Eastern Finland in the 1990's] which was the first doctoral thesis about Finnish Roma music. Author of three books and numerous articles, mostly in Finnish, and editor of various papers collections. He is currently involved in a project on music and masculinity.

**Maria BOZAN** – Born in 1954, and graduated from the Department of Foreign Languages (French and Japanese) of the University of Bucharest. Currently, researcher and head of the "Franz Binder" Museum of World Ethnography (a branch of the "ASTRA" National Museum in Sibiu). She is an expert in South-African/Sudanese ethnography, and focuses mainly on the history of the African collection donated by Franz Binder. Her doctoral thesis deals with the extra-European ethnomuseology in Transylvania. Apart from the academic work, she organizes exhibitions and makes translations.

**Nicolae CONSTANTINESCU** – Professor of Ethnology and Folklore, former head of the Chair of Ethnology and Folklore, member of the Doctoral School, Department of Letters, University of Bucharest. Main fields of teaching: theory of folklore, Romanian folk (oral) literature, contemporary folklore, Romanian traditional culture, ethnology, cultural anthropology, kinship, the study of mentalities through folklore, the written and oral literature relationship. He has published the books *Rima în poezia populară românească* [The Rhyme in the Romanian Folk-Poetry] (1973); *Lectura textului folcloric* [The Reading of the Folklore Text] (1986); *Relaţiile de rudenie în societăţile tradiţionale. Reflexe în folclorul românesc* [Kinship in Traditional Societies. Reflections in Romanian Folklore] (1987 – The "Sim. Fl. Marian" Award of the Romanian Academy; a new edition *The Ethnology and Folklore of Kinship*, 2000); *Romanian Traditional Culture. An Introduction* ("Scripta Ethnologica Aboensia" 42, University of Turku Ethnology, 1996), and many more. He contributed to international reference books such as *Enzyklopädie des Märchens.* Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung. Begründet von Kurt Ranke... and *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Folktales & Fairy Tales* (ed. by Donald Haase, Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut–London, 2008).

**Larry Francis HILARIAN** – Assistant Professor of music at the Nanyang Technological University/National Institute of Education in Singapore. He received his MA from


https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Queen's University of Belfast while studying with John Blacking. He continued his teacher's qualifications at Croydon College and Oxford Brookes University. His PhD. was from Goldsmith's College (University of London) under the supervision of John Baily. He has co-authored two secondary school music textbooks (*Exploring Music 1* and *2*) which are widely used in most Singaporean schools, and is also in the process of completing another two music textbooks (*Music Alive! 1* and *2*). As a composer and performer, his music has been performed widely. His composition for *shakuhachi* and *koto* was premiered in Tokyo and produced on a CD by the traditional Japanese music school *Tozan Ryu*.

**Sabina ISPAS** – associated member of the Romanian Academy, director of the "Constantin Brăiloiu" Institute for Ethnography and Folklore (Bucharest, Romania), she is an expert in Romanian oral literature, especially in epic and lyrical songs, as well as in archival matters. She authored numerous books and academic essays, tought folklore studies in various Romanian universities, and currently heads doctoral research and dissertations. Member in many national and international academic organizations and commissions.

**Otilia HEDEŞAN** – professor of Romanian Civilization and Culture at the Faculty of Letters, History and Theology, of the "Universitatea de Vest" (Timişoara, Romania), teaches folklore-related courses. Books on oral traditions, storytelling, beliefs, ghosts, and field-related or archival theories: *Şapte eseuri despre strigoi* [Seven Essays on Vampires] (1998), *Pentru o mitologie difuză* [Pleading for a Diffuse Mythology] (2000), *Folclorul. Ce facem cu el?* [Folklore: What to Do about It?] (2001), *Lecţii despre calendar* [Lectures on the Calendar] (2005), *Angoasele cititorului de antropologie* [*The Anguish of an Anthropology Reader*] (2006).

**Marin MARIAN-BĂLAŞA** – Doctor of Philosophy, ethnomusicologist, ethnologist, and writer, works as a senior researcher with the "C. Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore in Bucharest. Author of nine interdisciplinary volumes and of numerous academic and multicultural essays and papers. He has founded the international journal 'European Meetings in Ethnomusicology', and activates in numerous national and international organizations and associations.

**Ilie MOISE** – professor of folklore and ethnology at the Department for Letters and Arts of the "Lucian Blaga" University in Sibiu (South-Central Transylvania). Doctor of Philology, he published folklore collections, monographs, and editions, and authored several volumes devoted to traditional folk customs and to the bio-bibliography of folklore researchers in the Sibiu region. He is the editor-in-chief of the yearly "Studii şi comunicări de etnologie" [Essay and Papers in Ethnology], which comes out in Sibiu.

**Nicolae PANEA** – professor in the Department of Letters of the "Universitatea Craiova" (Romania), chairs the disciplines of cultural-social anthropology and of folk culture. Main topics of interest: urban anthropology and theory of rituals. Volumes: *Antropologie a tradiţiilor* [Anthropology of Traditions] (1995), *Zeii de asfalt. Antropologie a urbanului* [Asphalt Gods: Anthropology of the Urban] (2001), *Gramatica funerarului* [Grammar of the Funeral] (2003).

**Alexandru POPESCU** – born in 1942, he graduated from classes in history and ethnography at universities in Bucharest (Romania) and Bonn (Germany). From the latter he also obtained his Ph.D. (1974). In 1966-1990 he worked as researcher with

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore. Author and collaborator to 25 volumes (a 1986 book was devoted to Romanian work traditions as reflected in customs, folklore, and folk arts), and 30 academic essays in ethnology and historiography. As a member of the Society for Ethnography in Germany he takes part in scientific gathering and delivers lectures in Germany and Austria. The main ethnographical domains: folk customs, today's developments of the folk culture, contemporary trends in ethnological theory and methods.

**Mariana VIDA** – as a curator, since 1979, at the Romania's National Museum of Arts (Bucharest), she organized many exhibitions. As a museologist she wrote consistent essays and monographs on Romanian painters such as Theodor Aman, Carol Pop de Szathmari, Nicolae Grigorescu, Margareta Sterian, and Marcel Iancu.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

# REVISTA DE ETNOGRAFIE ŞI FOLCLOR
# JOURNAL OF ETHNOGRAPHY AND FOLKLORE

Apare de două ori pe an.
A peer-reviewed academic journal that comes out twice a year.

Comenzile din ţară şi străinătate se primesc la:
Subscriptions are to be arranged with:

EDITURA ACADEMIEI ROMÂNE, Calea 13 Septembrie nr. 13, Bucureşti 050711, România. Phone 4021-318 8146, 4021-318 8106; fax: 4021-318 2444; e-mail: edacad@ear.ro

RODIPET S.A., Piaţa Presei Libere nr. 1, P. O. Box 33–57, Bucureşti, România. Phone 4021-318 7000, 4021-318 7001; fax: 4021-318 7002, 4021-318 7003; e-mail: rodipet@rodipet.ro

ORION PRESS IMPEX 2000 S.R.L., P. O. Box 77–19, Bucureşti, România. Phone 0311 044 668, fax: 4021-610 6765, 4021-210 6787; e-mail: office@orionpress.ro

**ISSN 0034–8198**

**REF/JEF, *2*, p. 175–306, Bucureşti, 2007**

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

10 lei